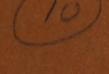
THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY BULLETIN



NUMBER 10 · OCTOBER 1936



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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1936

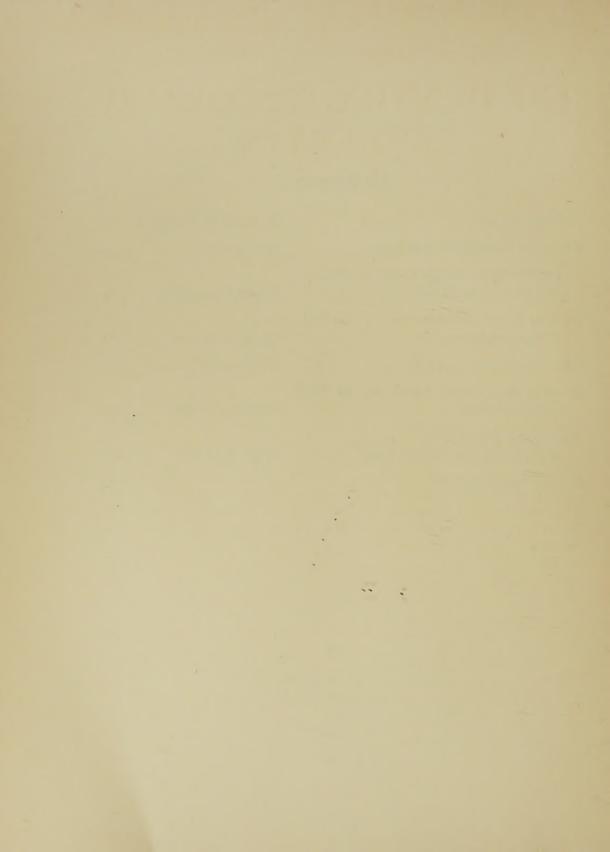
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v. 10 1936:2

PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.

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Robert Aylett

By FREDERICK M. PADELFORD

IT IS one of the ironies of literary history that a man who wrote some eighteen hundred Spenserian stanzas and who was confident that his sacred, and therefore inspired, verse assured him immortality, should find no place in the history of English

poetry. Yet such has been the fate of Robert Aylett.

The standard works of reference furnish only the barest facts of Aylett's life—his date of birth, academic education, public offices, the approximate date of his death, and his place of burial.¹ These details are supplemented by a helpful, if fragmentary, sketch contributed by J. H. Round to the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*.² Aylett's literary works are variously noted by W. Carew Hazlitt,³ Egerton Brydges,⁴ Thomas Corser,⁵ and A. B. Grosart;⁶ and H. G. De Maar ⁷ comments on his extensive use of the Spenserian stanza.

² N.S., X (Colchester, 1909), 26–34. ³ *Hand-book* (London, 1867), pp. 18–19.

⁵ Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, Pt. I (Chetham Society, Vol. LII; London, 1860), pp. 96–104.

6 Dict. of Nat. Biog.

¹ John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge), Pt. I, Vol. I (1922); Anthony Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* (London, 1812), I, 328, II, 363; James Granger, *Biographical History of England* (London, 1824), III, 29.

⁴ Censura Literaria (2d ed.; London, 1815), II, 379-81; Restituta (London, 1814), IV,

⁷ Elizabethan Romance in the Eighteenth Century (Zalt-Bommel, 1924?), pp. 61-63.

This meagre information, however, only serves as a point of departure. The plan of the present article is, therefore, to give a brief survey of Aylett's literary output, and to follow this with a sketch of his life.¹

The first volume which can unquestionably be assigned to Aylett appeared in 1621 with the following title: The Song of Songs, Which Was Salomons, Metaphrased in English Heroiks by way of Dialogue. With Certayne of the Brides Ornaments, Viz. Poeticall Essayes vpon a Diuine Subject. Whereunto is Added a Funerall Elegie, Consecrate to the Memorie of That Euer Honoured Lord, Iohn, Late Bishop of London.

By R. A.

Two copies of this book are extant, one in the Bodleian Library and the other in the Huntington Library, the latter coming from the Britwell Court collection. In this second copy the initials of the author are followed by a manuscript notation in the handwriting of James Bindley (1737-1818): "(ie. Rich! Argall.)." 2 On the strength of this notation, Hazlitt 3 assigned the work to Richard Argall, and in turn, relying on Hazlitt's accuracy, A. H. Bullen (who clearly had not seen either of the copies) contributed a brief life of Richard Argall, "a very shadowy personage," to the Dictionary of National Biography, recognizing, however, that these poems attributed to Argall were identical with those correctly published as Aylett's in 1654. The explanation of Bindley's note is probably to be found in the following remark which appears in Sotheby's sale catalogue of the Britwell Court Library, p. 44: "It may be noted however that the First Book of the Brides Ornaments is dedicated 'To his most worthy friend, Mr. John Argall, Esquire', and this together with the vague account of a Richard Argall in Wood's Athenae Oxonienses, may be responsible for the ascription." In the Short-Title Catalogue the book is entered under "Bible" (item 2774), but is correctly attributed to Aylett.

² Opposite the title-page Bindley made the following notes: "Bought at Mr. Southgate's Sale, May 6th 1795. No: 2108." "See an Account of the Author, in Wood's Athenae, vol: 1. p. 331. J.B."

3 Op. cit., p. 11.

² It is a pleasure to acknowledge the friendly assistance which I have received from several scholars at the Huntington Library. Mr. Virgil B. Heltzel, Mr. Fulmer Mood, and Miss Lily B. Campbell have made many useful suggestions, and Mr. Godfrey Davies and Mr. Louis B. Wright, of the permanent research staff, have been most helpful in the revision of the paper.

The Song of Songs consists of an Argument, and a chapter-by-chapter translation, with a proem for each chapter. The translation is in thirty-nine stanzas, all Spenserian, with the exception of the final stanzas of chapters one and seven, which are abridged Spenserian stanzas, a b a b b b and a b a b b, the last line of each being an Alexandrine. The translation is followed by four stanzas of pious reflection on the marriage-feast of the Heavenly Bridegroom and his Bride. The Argument, which voices the conventional regret of the exponents of divine poetry for the youthful pursuit of worldly verse, reads as follows:

My Muse, that whilome, swaid by lust of youth, Did spend her strength in idle wanton toyes, Now viewes her vanity, with mickle ruth, And as awak'd doth seeke for solid ioyes,

Such as pure soules to blessednesse conuoyes:
This is the cause why shee so much doth long, His grace implor'd who in a mighty noyse Appear'd in clouen tongues, to teach my tongue To sing these sacred mysteries, this Salomons song.

The original dedication of the poem, in four Spenserian stanzas, was addressed "To the Right Reverend Father in God, Iohn, Lord Bishop of London," whom the poet recognizes as his benefactor:

Accept (my Lord) into your Treasurie
Of Wisedome, Learning, this deuoted Mite;
In Widdowes offering out of penurie;
Thy Lord did more, than richest gifts delight.
Your Lordships worthy fauours did inuite
Mee to this boldnesse, when you first did raise
My lot which in obscuritie was light,
In better Fortunes for to spend my dayes,
For which I blesse your bountie, and my Maker praise.

A second dedication, "To My Most Beloved and Worthy Good Friend, M^r. Henry King, Arch-Deacon of Colchester," occasioned by the death of the Bishop, March 30, 1621, is as follows:

It pleased you long since at my request, to present this holy Song to my honourable good Lord, and your most deare and louing Father. Whose worthy approbation hath encouraged me to publish it, intending the Dedication to his euer-honoured memorie. But God having now taken him to himselfe, and left vs to bewaile our inestimable losse (it being printed before his Death) I resolue not to alter the Dedication, but desire you his liuing Heire to accept it in his Name: praying the Lord of all Grace (who hath made you Heire of his Graces and Vertues) to make you Coheire with him of eternall Happinesse, resting alwayes

Your owne, R.A.

Following the dedications are commendatory verses, obviously written with *The Brides Ornaments* in mind, by Io. Whyte, B.L., W. B. Affinisdomesticus, I.A., and A. Magirus, the last contributing a sonnet in which John Hayward (whose *The Sanctuarie of a Troubled Soule* was running through edition after edition) and Aylett, "Doctors of another facultie," are commended for putting "carelesse Church-men" to shame.

The Brides Ornaments: Poëticall Essayes vpon a Divine Subject, is a series of poetical meditations on the virtues. The author had written twenty such meditations, divided into four books, as follows: Book I, Love, Humility, Repentance, Faith, Hope; Book II, Justice and Righteousness, Truth, Mercy, Patience, Fortitude; Book III, Knowledge, Zeal, Temperance, Bounty, Joy; Book IV, Prudence, Obedience, Meekness, God's Word, Prayer. Only the first two books, however, appeared in this 1621 edition. Each of them is furnished with a separate title-page, and each has its own dedication. The first book is addressed in verse to John Argall, and the second to Philip King, the third son of the Bishop. Following the second book an ornamental page announces that the third and fourth books were "Likewise intended by the Authour at this time for the Presse. But the euerlamented losse of his most honored Lord (which hath changed all his Ioyes into Sorrowes, and Songs to Lamentations) hath beene the cause of deferring their publishing." Consequently, these books awaited publication for over thirty years. It is likely that there is some explanation in addition to the one offered, for the failure to complete the volume. Had Aylett been looking to his patron to defray the cost of publication?

The title of the poem, The Brides Ornaments, is naturally enough

Y. "W. B." may be William Browne, the author of *Britannia's Pastorals*, who shared Aylett's devotion to Spenser, and "I. A." is probably the John Argall to whom Aylett dedicated the second book of meditations in *The Brides Ornaments*.

suggested by The Song of Songs, but Aylett may also have had in mind the concluding stanza of Spenser's Epithalamion:

Song made in lieu of many ornaments,
With which my loue should duly haue been dect,
Which cutting off through hasty accidents,
Ye would not stay your dew time to expect,
But promist both to recompens,
Be vnto her a goodly ornament,
And for short time an endlesse moniment.

"The Contents" of the poem are broadly outlined in the following Spenserian stanza, the composition of which must have taxed the writer's ingenuity:

The Porter of Loues Gate, Humilitie:
Her Treasurer, Knowledge; Fortitude, Generall;
Mercy, her Chancellor; Truth, Secretarie:
Iustice, chiefe Iudge; Prudence directeth all.
Temp'rance, Comptroller; Repentance, Marshall.
Bountie, the Almoner; Faith, Hope, Patrons are;
Patience, Obedience, Meeknesse, Maides I call,
Attending Loue: Ioy, priuy Seale doth beare;
Gods word, sword-bearer is; Zeale, Prayer, chaplens there.

Next comes "The Proeme," in twenty-one Spenserian stanzas, in which the author describes the discipline he underwent in the Court of Heavenly Love. This furnishes an opportunity to present in allegorical form the relations and offices of the various virtues which were to be exhaustively expounded in the succeeding meditations. The proem is modeled upon Spenser's House of Holiness, with the respective virtues performing essentially the same offices in each. In view of this correspondence and the author's indebtedness to the Faerie Queene, it is somewhat naïve to find the opening stanzas voicing regret that Spenser, along with the other great poets, had chosen to write of "Ladies loues, and Nobles courtesie" rather than of "Heauenly Loue," to the detriment of his poetry and the impoverishing of his soul:

Those sublime Wits, that in high Court of Fame Doe seeke to ranke themselues by Poesie,

Edward Payson Morton, "The Spenserian Stanza before 1700," Modern Philology, IV, 644, mistakenly scans the last line of this stanza as pentameter.

Eternizing the glorie of their name
By prayse of Honour, and of Cheualrie,
To some great Princes Court their youth apply,
Knights honourable actions to behold;
Chaste Ladies loues, and Nobles courtesie.
Of such haue Homer, Virgil, Spencer told,
And haue thereby their names in Fames faire Court enrold.

But had they waited on the glorious Court
Of Heauenly Loue, by some call'd Charitie,
And seene the order there, and gracious Port
Of this great Queene and her faire Companie,
Her gentle Gouernement and Maiestie,
This sure their most Heroicke Muse might raise,
As farre aboue their moderne pitch to flie,
As candle-light's surmounted by Sunnes rayes,
Or as the Creatures boasting is by Makers praise.

Nor had their stately Muse beene rais'd more high,
By this employment in Loues Meditation,
Than their owne soules, which vp to heauen would flie
By this delightfull heau'nly Contemplation,
Where they might view th'eternall Habitation,
Prepared for the faithfull Friends of Loue,
That by her Lawes frame life and conuersation,
As Members of one glorious Head aboue,
Which here vpon the Earth by it doe liue, be, moue.

The characteristic procedure in each of the meditations is to give a theological definition of the virtue under consideration, define its relation to the kindred virtues, and expound its operations, with abundant metaphors, analogies, and illustrations from Holy Writ, and much pious, aphoristic exhortation. Essentially, these meditations are theological essays or doctrinal sermons in verse. The author professedly experienced a "glorious exaltation" while writing these sacred poems, and he was obviously sustained by the consoling belief that exalted themes found equally exalted expression in his verse. If the modern reader cannot extract spiritual consolation from them, he may find them interesting as revelations of the Jacobean mind and enjoyable for their quaint embroidery. If he is not impelled

Chams, Moguls, China's glorie to despise With all Worlds pompe, wealth, honour, lustre vaine,¹

he can hardly fail to enjoy the ingenious conceits. Thus, of Repentance Aylett writes:

Shee is the Mid-wife, that with keenest knife
Our Nauell cuts, whereby we cleaue to sinne,
Who though shee cruell seeme, yet giues sweet life,
When first to liue in Spirit we begin;
Shee, vs polluted and defil'd within,
Doth clense in Fountayne of Regeneration;
Vs new-borne Babes, shee teacheth to let in
The milke sincere to sure Iustification;
Till stronger meate make strong our Faith to sure Saluation.²

So enamored was Aylett of his task, so pleasant was it to see the Spenserian stanzas taking shape under his facile pen, that the first two books ran to no less than 347 and 322 stanzas. We can only conjecture as to the length of the third and fourth books in the original version, for in the subsequent edition of 1654, where Books III and IV first appear, Books I and II are reduced to 229 and 211 stanzas, and the 200 and 191 stanzas of the last two books probably represent a corresponding curtailment.

The "Funerall Elegie," a poem of 130 verses arranged in couplets, while not an inspired tribute is the sincere expression of one who, as a member of his official "Familie," knew Bishop King well and admired him. It rebukes those who had slandered his memory by reporting that he embraced Roman Catholicism upon his deathbed, and commends his godliness, his justice in high office, his learning, and his generosity.

Other works by Aylett appeared in 1622–23 as follows: Susanna: or, The Arraignment of the Two Vniust Elders; Peace with her Foure Garders: 3 Viz, Fine Morall Meditations, of 1. Peace and Concord. 2. Chas-

[&]quot; "Of Faith," stanza 70, ll. 2-3.
"Of Repentance," stanza 3.

³ I follow the title-page in reading "Garders" not "Gardens." Hazlitt, op. cit., p. 18, the Dict. of Nat. Biog., and the Short-Title Catalogue all read "Gardens," and this is supported by the entry in the Stationers' Register under date of July 10, 1622: "John Teage. Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of master Wilson and master knight Peace with her garden and Thriftes Equipage written by master Doctor Aylett." Moreover, the author speaks of the virtues as flowers and herbs in "Graces garden." (See quotation, p. 9.) On the other

titie. 3. Constancie. 4. Courtesie. 5. Gravitie; Thrifts Equipage: viz. Fine Dinine and Morall Meditations, of 1. Frugalitie. 2. Providence. 3. Diligence. 4. Labour and Care. 5. Death; and Ioseph or Pharoahs Fauourite. The first of these was entered April 9, 1622; the second and third, July 10, 1622; and the fourth, June 14, 1623. The first three

were printed for John Teage, and the last for M. Law.

Susanna was published anonymously, and was dedicated, without initials, "To the Right Honourable Robert, Earle of Warwicke, and to his most vertuous and Noble Countesse, the Lady Frances" — the one "Another Daniel for iudging right," and the other "a Susan of this age." Aylett thus chose for his dedication a distinguished young nobleman of his own county, who had also been a fellow student at Cam-

bridge.2

Susanna is a sacred epic of 1,470 lines, written in iambic decasyllabic couplets, and divided into four books, each provided with a proem. It was obviously inspired by Du Bartas' Judith, published in 1574,3 and well known to English readers through the translations of Thomas Hudson and Joshua Sylvester.4 Aylett may also have had in mind Robert Roche's Eustathia, or the Constancie of Susanna (London, 1599), a sacred epic, although he borrowed nothing from it.

The poem, like Judith and Eustathia, builds out the apocryphal

hand, careless as the proofreading may have been, the spelling on the title-page enjoys the presumption of being correct. Furthermore, to follow up the figure, the virtues are flowers in a garden, not themselves gardens. Again, it is logical to think of chastity, constancy, courtesy, and gravity as the guardians of peace, and in the opening stanza "Of Chastitie" the poet is careful to imply this relationship:

"Most needfull grace for those, in peace, that rest: For when she most tranquillity doth bring. Man most in danger is of Lusts enchanting sting."

The British Museum and the Harmsworth Library possess the only extant copies of

Peace with her Foure Garders, Thrifts Equipage, and Ioseph.

3 See H. Ashton, Du Bartas en Angleterre (Paris, 1908), p. 349, and Lily B. Campbell,

"The Christian Muse," Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 8, pp. 37-38.

² Robert Rich, the eldest son of John Rich and Penelope Devereux, was born at Leiths, Essex, in 1587. He entered Emmanuel College on June 4, 1603. See *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Fourth Report (London, 1874), p. 417.

⁴ Hudson's translation, made at the command of King James of Scotland, was first published in 1584 and then republished in the 1608, 1611, 1613, 1621, and 1633 editions of Sylvester's Du Bartas. Sylvester's translation appeared in 1614 under the title of Bethulians Rescue, and was republished in the 1621 and 1633 editions of the author's works.

story of Susanna to ambitious proportions and furnishes a rather spirited narrative. It is true to type in its appeal to the Holy Spirit for inspiration, its easy mingling of classical and biblical allusions, its Homeric similes, its naïve translation of archaic life into the contemporary and familiar, and its pious reflections. In keeping with the Renaissance interpretation of the epic, the poem is to be interpreted allegorically, Susanna standing for Right or Justice, which is attacked by false Elders, and saved by the decree of a Daniel whom the Olympian gods have sent at the behest of divine Astrea. A tribute to the following effect by a certain admirer, R. C., appears at the conclusion of the poem:

In all thy Poems thou dost wondrous well, But thy Susanna doth them all excell.

With this sentiment the reader, with the memory of The Brides Orna-

ments still freshly in mind, will not feel inclined to quarrel.

Undaunted, however, by the composition of the twenty meditations, with their thousand and more stanzas, which comprised *The Brides Ornaments*, and still insatiate, Aylett undertook and achieved the writing of the ten further meditations which constitute *Peace with her Foure Garders* and *Thrifts Equipage*. The poet delighted to wander through the godly garden of the virtues, where he could find still other flowers to pluck:

For when Brides garden first I entered
Of Graces, for delightfull meditation,
I onely some choyce Flowers gathered,
For holy Life, and heau'nly Contemplation:
But passing foorth with choyce of Delectation,
Such sweet and rich variety I find,
Fit to adorne my life and conversation,
Out of those pleasant knots I cannot wind,
Which with new choyce of flowres & herbs delight my mind.¹

Peace with her Foure Garders was dedicated in extravagant couplets to John Williams, who upon the fall of Bacon had recently been made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Bishop of Lincoln: since "great Augustus" has graced him with his seal, may he in turn be "a true

[&]quot; "Of Frugality, or Thrift," stanza 2.

Mecenas." Thrifts Equipage was dedicated, in Spenserian stanzas, "To the Right Honorable, William, Lord Maynard, my very good

Lord," a representative of another prominent Essex family."

In the course of the meditation, "Of Care and Labour," Aylett takes occasion to heap extravagant praise upon James for his zealous care in protecting the church against Roman Catholics and Puritans and his wisdom in the choice of men for high positions, and equally extravagant praise upon some churchman as an illustrious champion of the faith:

Great Keeper of this famous Brittish Ile!
How dost thou care and labour for our ease?
Besides Kings ordinary Paynes and Toyle
In Gouernement, thy Writings do increase
To largest Volumes, for the Churches Peace:
For Christs pure Spouse, and thy deare Kingdomes weale:
Thy Watchings, Prayers, Labours, neuer cease,
Else blos'mes of Vines, the Foxes soone would steale,
Or wild Bore root vp all thy Church and Commonweale.

When in his large, wise, vnderstanding heart,
We, for our Good, such cares continuall see,
What secret Malice can a man peruert,
To deeme that in his Loue, and Wisedome he
Aduance will any to Authoritie;
But whom he eu'ry way doth able finde,
To care and labour for the safety
Of Church and Kingdome, to his care assign'd?
Wise Masters best discerne how Servants are inclin'd.

Great *Peeres* appointed, by this Master *Wise*, To Rule *his Kingdome*, and adorne his *Hall*, Of him learne *Labour* and *braue exercise*, And doe not vnto *idle gaming* fall:

The Bane of Court, Towne, Country, Church and all: Oh spend the time you from emploiment spare, In Tilting, Hunting, Armes, Arts Liberall, And so with Piety your minds prepare, To labour in your charge, and have of heav'n a care.

Besides examples of your earthly King, Looke on our Lord that sits in heau'n aboue:

¹ See G. E. C., The Complete Peerage (new ed. begun by Vicary Gibbs; London, 1910), VIII, 599-600.

Who heere on earth was alwayes labouring,
Now as our Head himselfe he doth approue,
Most carefull for his Spouse and dearest Loue.
See his Disciples, Saints and Martyrs all,
How carefull and laborious they proue,
In Writings, Preachings[,] Counsels generall,
Relieuing poore in want, redeeming Saints from thrall.

Amongst these Lights of Labour, with me looke
On one, though little, yet of wondrous might,
Who, Dauid-like, takes stones out of the Brooke,
The proud Goliah in the front to smite:
Oh how do'st thou most valiantly acquite!
God and his Church, against Rome's railing Host,
And that Augean stable purgest quite,
Though it thee mickle care and labour cost:
Of this would Herc'les more, than all his labours boast.

In the second of these stanzas the reference is clearly to the bestowal of the Great Seal upon Williams, for the Chancery normally was assigned to a lawyer. "I had thought," sneered Bacon, "that I should have known my successor." The reference in the last stanza is almost certainly to William Laud (recently appointed Bishop of St. Davids, and the then friend of Williams), for Laud's diminutive stature was a constant subject of remark. Moreover, the deletion of the stanza in the 1654 volume supports this conclusion. To be sure, no Puritan would have recognized him as the purger of the "Augean stable," for he was constantly stigmatized as a "Romanist," but he regarded himself as the protector of the church against Romanists and Puritans alike. Little did Aylett then anticipate how intimate was to be his association with Laud in years to come.

Preceding the meditation on Providence is an eight-line stanza, in couplets, entitled "Of Gods Prouidence," and at the conclusion of the volume a stanza which reads:

To thee, poore Bird, in Cage imprisoned, How like am I, by Ague visited? I cannot vse my horse, nor thou thy wing,

¹ Stanzas 36-40.

² See S. R. Gardiner, *History of England* (London, 1884), IV, 135. ³ See, e.g., Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (London, 1668), p. 54.

And therefore both sit still within, and sing. My Muse hath with my Body Sympathie: If well, I learne to live; if sicke, to die.

This is followed by a four-line stanza, "Of dying young."

These meditations reveal Aylett as a thoroughgoing Calvinist, for in the meditation, "Of Prouidence," he defines all of the fundamental doctrines of Calvinism: Predestination, Election, Sanctification, Total Depravity, and Divine Necessity — as it were, reducing to a concise metrical statement the entire theology of the *Institutes*.¹ These later meditations also show Aylett's admiration for those social and domestic ideals which characterized the stable upper middle class in Jacobean society: industry, thrift, concern for public weal, respect for learning, seemly hospitality, chastity, sobriety, and decorum. Thus, of industry he writes:

Industry best agreeth to the mind,
In which she frames a quicke Dexterity,
In Arts and Sciences the right to find,
And they that know her wondrous energy,
In Phisicke, Law, and in Divinity,
Know, that she tends the neerest to perfection,
And is to humane imbecillity
Most sound defence, secure, and safe protection,
'Gainst Satans Malice, their owne Lusts, & worlds infection.'

Wherefore good fathers of a Family,
First rise, and latest go to bed at night:
And those that loue the Muses company,
Do vse their eyes to read by Candle-light.
Artificer, good-Husband, Merchant, Knight,
And Magistrate, this Vertue doth defend.
Nothing so difficult, but by the might
Of Diligence, is conquer'd in the end,
Therefore in all affaires she is our surest friend.3

These substantial virtues find embodiment in the Susanna and Joachim of Aylett's divine epic. Susanna was the acme of efficiency, possessing all of the admirable virtues that the contemporary moral-

3 Ibid., stanza 12.

¹ Stanzas 8-19.

² "Of Diligence," stanza 8.

ists looked for in a wife, living to glorify God and make her husband prosperous and comfortable:

Now scarce his steedes had *Phebus* watered, And for long iourney ready harnessed, And faire *Aurora* vsher of the day Made haste; because *Sol* went his longest way, When chaste *Susanna* from sweete side arose Of *Ioachim*, and putting on her cloathes, She meditates on roabe of righteousnesse, Wherewith the bridegroome his belou'd doth dresse.¹

Her simple toilet concluded, she summons her maidens, conducts their devotions, gives instructions to the cook and steward so that her husband's table may be furnished plenteously but prudently, prepares the household remedies (in which she has "mickle skill"), and then, returning to her maidens, gives them religious instruction or leads them in singing psalms while their fingers are busily employed in making garments for the needy or for the members of the household. Nor does Susanna forget Joachim, in whose honor she works a cap or band with her own fair hands, embroidering it with such designs as the temptation in the Garden or the sacrifice of Isaac.

Thus was her house of maidens arts the schoole, And Academy to instruct their soule:
Her hands with vse so cunning were become,
That though her eyes looked off, her worke was done,
The whilst with them her maidens she directs,
And her owne businesse no whit neglects:
Oft reads she them some holy Hymne of praise,
Yet neuer from their worke her fingers stayes.

Joachim, for his part, is equally praiseworthy — a country gentleman who manages his estate with care and administers justice to his neighbors.

Thus she her time in working spends till noone, Whilst *Ioachim* which rose from bed as soone, Doth his whole family together call, And ioynes in humble prayer with them all. Then walkes he forth to see his oxen plow, Or mowers pearly lockes of medowes mow,

¹ Bk. II, ll. 1 ff.

Or widows weeding of his earing graine,
Or maidens milke from bagges of kine to straine:
Here he appoints a iolly Swaine to tend
His flocke, and from the wolfe and flye defend:
Oft would he teach a courser for to pace
More easy, and to raine with pleasing grace.
But euer he returneth home by eight,
Where many longing Clyents for him waite,
And him for pitty and compassion praid,
To be the widowes and the orphans aide.

Ioseph or Pharoahs Fauourite is another sacred epic. It consists of five books, and runs to 2,948 lines. As in Susanna, the meter employed is the iambic decasyllabic couplet. The poem was probably suggested by the unfinished Joseph of Girolamo Fracastoro, posthumously published in 1535, a translation of which Sylvester published in 1620 under the title, The Maidens Blush, or Ioseph. Sylvester had furnished the younger poet still another example of the sacred epic, in Iob Triumphant in his Triall, which appeared in the collected edition of Sylvester's works, 1621. In Fracastoro's poem Pluto, embittered by the knowledge that a descendant of Abraham is destined to destroy his Tartarian realm, arouses jealousy among the brothers of Joseph. For Pluto, Sylvester substitutes the "Old Serpent." Aylett combines this suggestion with the conversation between God and Lucifer in the opening chapter of the Book of Job, and makes Satan's taunt that Jacob serves God only for material ends, the basis for the story:

Now dwelt the holy Patriarch Israel
At rest, in Canaan in his fathers cell,
For Esau now did in mount Seir raigne,
One country could not all their flocks sustaine:
And having many stormes and dangers past,
Now hop'd in quiet to have liv'd at last,
Freed from his brothers hate and menacing,
From Labans cruell gripes and coueting,
His teares for losse of Rachel now were dride,
For Dina's rape, and Simeons homicide,
His sonnes abroad, in Peace their flocks do tend,
Ioseph at home, his father doth attend:
When lo! an envious Spirit (which did reede,
In holy Iacob, Isaacks promisd seede,

Which he to come of *Ioseph* most did feare, Because he to his father was so deare) One day amongst the sonnes of God appeard, Before the Lord, desiring to be heard: And thus began: Dread Thunderer: be just, Hast thou not raised vp sinfull man from dust, To make those heau'nly *Mansions*, ay his owne, From which thou *Angels* in thy wrath hast throwne And damn'd? yet we but once did thee displease, But he offends each houre, yet liues at ease: Iacob in Isaacks Tents doth quiet liue, As with his *Blessing* he him *Peace* did giue; And though by the Decree man ought attaine To Ioyes of Heau'n, by sorrow, care, and paine: To him thou so benigne and gratious art, Hee sees the Pleasures, neuer feeles the smart; So as it seemes 'tis thy determination, To make base Man for blisse, Vs for damnation: How hast thou blessed him on eu'ry side? His Children many, his Possessions wide; His flocks abound and couer all the Land, So thou dost blesse all workes that passe his hand: Well may he serue thee for so great reward, But touch him, thou shalt see his slight regard, Vexe thou but him, or any of his race, And he will thee blaspheme vnto thy face: When thus, th' Almightie; say thou what thou can, Iacob's a matchlesse, just and perfect man, Who feareth God, doth good, escheweth ill, Try him or his, so thou no bloud dost spill. Thus now had Satan his desires attain'd, By Iacobs Angell till that time restrain'd; And since for bloud he could not get permission, He privily sowes Enuie and Sedition, Which make oft greater rents in Church and State, Then open enmitie and knowne debate:

Proiect destruction, God a blessed end.

If this passage seems faintly prophetic of Milton, it is but one of many indications that Milton was consciously working in the tradition

¹ Ll. 1–66.

of the sacred epic and that he gave ultimate expression to the genre in *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* — a fact that seems completely to have escaped Miltonic scholars.

In the dedication of *Ioseph*, Aylett again addressed himself to Bishop Williams — good evidence that his former dedication had been

received with favor.

In 1654 all of the above poems, along with certain others, were gathered into one volume, entitled Divine, and Moral Speculations in Metrical Numbers, upon Various Subjects. By Doctor R. Aylet, one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery. Opposite the title-page, in the Huntington Library copy, is an excellent engraving of the author, "AEt: 52. 1635," by Thomas Cross. The volume is dedicated, in five Spenserian stanzas, "To the Right Honourable Henry Lord Marquesse of Dorchester: and his Incomparable Lady," and there are commendatory verses by R. Beaumont, Bart., Jam. Howell, and W. Martin.²

The sequence of the poems is as follows: The Song of Songs; The Brides Ornaments; Five Moral Meditations; Five Divine and Moral Meditations; Market A Funerall Elegy, Consecrated to the Memory of His Ever Honored Lord Iohn King Late Lord Bishop of London"; Susanna; Ioseph; "Urania or the Heavenly Muse"; "The Authors Vow or Wish, at the Consecration of a Chappel Founded by the Right Honourable William Lord Maynard, at His House in Eston in Essex"; "The Muses Health: Or, to the Right Honourable William Lord Maynard, at the Consecration of His Chappel at Eston Lodge in Essex"; "The Converts Conquest"; "Upon Sight of a Most Honorable Ladys Wedding Garter"; "Divine Quadrains"; and "Quadrains, Moral and Civil." Bound with the above and included in the Table of Contents, though with an independent title-page dated 1653 and with independent

¹ Published by Abel Roper. Corser, op. cit., pp. 98-104, gives a careful bibliographical account of this volume.

² Beaumont was the author of the quaint and sententious Loves Missives to Virtue: with Essaies (London, 1660); Howell, the author of Dodona's Grove (London, 1640), a prose political allegory of events from 1602 to 1640, and Epistolae Ho-Elianae (London, 1645-55); Sir William Martin was rather prominent in the local affairs of Essex (cf. Hist. MSS. Comm., Tenth Report, IV [London, 1885], 508-10).

In the earlier edition entitled, Peace with her Foure Garders.In the earlier edition entitled, Thrifts Equipage.

dent signatures and pagination, are: four pastoral eclogues announced as the second edition of A Wife, Not Ready Made, but Bespoken, by Dicus the Batchelor, and Made up for Him by His Fellow Shepherd Tityrus; "Some of Tityrus's Songs Then Sang by Dorus"; and "A Pair of Turtles. Viz. Two Elegies on the Deaths of Edmund Alleyn Esquire, Son and Heir of Sir Edward Alleyn of Hatfield in Essex, Baronet, and Mary His Wife, Left by Him with Childe, and Died Soon after Her Delivery." A Wife is dedicated, in playful couplets, "To My Honoured Good Friend Sr Robert Stapleton," and the dedication is followed by: verses "Lectori Caelibi" by J. H. [James Howell], "The two Married Shepheards T. and D. to R. and G. Batchelours," a commendatory stanza by G. H., and six verses addressed "To the Courteous Reader." The volume concludes with "A Christmas Carol. 1645" and two short moral observations in verse. These two final pages are not numbered and no signature appears, but the carol is included in the Table of Contents.²

If the four earlier volumes were all addressed to distinguished representatives of old Essex families or to prominent divines, the dedications and commendatory verses of this volume disclose friendships with midcentury scholars and writers. Henry Pierrepont (1606–80), Marquis of Dorchester and Earl of Kingston, was learned in theology, law, and medicine — in the words of Dr. Charles Goodall, "a man of that ex-

Stapleton (d. 1669) was a member of the London literary group, his Juvenals Sixteen Satyrs (London, 1647) having been dedicated to Dorchester.

The pagination and signatures of the main part of this volume — that is, all that precedes A Wife — present an interesting problem, since the final meditation in The Brides Ornaments ends with page 247, the signatures running to R 4, and the Five Moral Meditations, which immediately follow, begin with page 361 and signature Aa, the signatures then running in sequence through the "Quadrains, Moral and Civil," though, to provide for the separate publication of some copies, the paging starts afresh with Susanna and with Ioseph. Since the paper (as evidenced by the watermarks) and the types are the same throughout the volume, the probable explanation is that, to hasten the printing, two parts of the book were assigned to different compositors in the same shop. The first was allowed a half signature for the title-page, dedication, etc., and the remaining twenty-two signatures of the alphabet (J, U, and W were not used in signatures) for his part of the volume, which, since the book is an octavo, amounts to exactly 360 pages; and the second compositor was instructed to begin with page 361 and signature Aa.

In the copy described by Corser (op. cit., pp. 98-104), and now in the possession of the writer, the poems are bound up in somewhat different order, and in violation of the signatures, Susanna following The Brides Ornaments, and Ioseph following A Wife.

emplary Loyalty to his Prince, and of those great attainments and proficiency in Learning, that he merits a just volume to set forth his deserved praises." A letter addressed to the Marquis by James Howell speaks of his house as "a true Academy," and Aylett and Howell may well have been part of a literary group that gathered there. Aylett's Epistle Dedicatory, after alluding to one of Dorchester's forebears who had been a royal counselor, gracefully recalls the efforts which the Marquis had made to guide the conduct of the King:

He was another Joseph to this land,
Who by his Prudence did his Lord advise
To passe that Charter under seal and hand,
Which props the Priest and peoples liberties;
(The peoples hearts are Kings best treasuries,)
The marks and bounds to terminate each Section,
From all encroachment which that Grant denies,
For where I pay my tribute and subjection,
I challenge may my life's and livelihoods protection.

I spare, Illustrious Lord, the application; Do but the forename change, the storie's thine, Who art the brightest glory of this Nation In search of knowledge Humane and Divine, Be pleas'd as Sol, when he begins to shine, All foggs and mists from hills and valleys chaseth, To countenance these gentle Songs of mine, Sweet Israels Singer sate among the Graces, The wiseman after all his travels Hymen paceth.

These stanzas are of moment in defining Aylett's attitude toward the policies of Charles I, as reviewed from the vantage point of old age and long experience.

The Song of Songs is an exact reprint of the earlier edition. The

¹ The Epistle Dedicatory (sigs. Tt 3-4) of An Historical Account of the College's Proceedings against Empiricks, appended to The Royal College of Physicians of London (London, 1684).

² Epistolae Ho-Elianae: Familiar Letters (10th ed.; London, 1737), Bk. IV, letter 13.
³ In the Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London (London, 1861), compiled by William Munk, is a biography of Dorchester, copied "verbatim from a MS copy of Dr. Goodall's, in the College Library," which recounts (pp. 268-70) the service of some master in chancery who, under the Commonwealth, protected Dorchester from the cancellation of his title; this may refer to Aylett.

Brides Ornaments supplies the ten meditations, constituting Books III and IV, which were omitted from the first edition. The last two stanzas of the original Proem are reduced to one, and, as stated above, Books I and II are reduced a third. The Five Divine and Moral Meditations, on the other hand, have only been reduced from 230 to 220 stanzas, and the Five Moral Meditations have exactly the same number — 216 — in each edition, although the later edition omits four of the original stanzas and adds four elsewhere. Susanna and Ioseph re-

main unchanged.

"Urania," by its title, suggests the *Urania* of Du Bartas, which was nothing less than the declaration of a new school of poetry and the canonization of a new muse. As a matter of fact, Aylett's poem is a free revision of the *Urania*, or more immediately of Sylvester's translation. While the outline of the original is closely followed, and many stanzas lean heavily upon the actual phrasing of the earlier English version, some passages are condensed and others amplified. The meter is the same as that used by Sylvester — a stanza of four iambic pentameter lines, alternately rhymed. Aylett limits his version to seventyone such stanzas, whereas Du Bartas and Sylvester employ eighty-five and eighty-six, respectively. By expanding the one stanza in which Urania announces herself, to three, Aylett links the poem with *The Brides Ornaments*, Urania declaring that she is a messenger sent from the Queen of Love — that queen whose court is the theme of the Proem to *The Brides Ornaments*:

I, saith she, am *Urania* to thee sent, From thine adored *Mistriss*, *Queen of Love*; I ravish Soules above the Firmament, That they in *Numbers* like the Spheres may move.

With Silver key I doe unlocke the mind Of Mortalls sealed up in ignorance, That oft their Soules above the Stars they find, When Bodyes lye on ground as in a trance.

For I the Spirit am of Contemplation, Th' Elixir or Ambrosia divine,

See Lily B. Campbell, "The Christian Muse," op. cit., pp. 39-70.

Pure Angells food, Soules sweetest delectation, The Helicon, where both the Sisters nine...

The introductory stanzas are a clever bit of adaptation, and if they can be taken literally show that as a young man Aylett had considered writing comedies, tragedies, a patriotic epic of the York-Lancaster union, or a poem in praise of King James, modeled presumably upon Du Bartas' "A Hymn of St. Lewis" and "The Trophies of Henry the Great." The complimentary reference to James creates a strong presumption that the poem was written during his reign or shortly after his death, and this is supported by the way in which the poem is linked to *The Brides Ornaments*. Indeed, translation, in itself, suggests early work, especially since the subject matter is the credo of a school which the poet wished to champion.

The two short poems that follow, written for the consecration of Lord Maynard's chapel, again emphasize Aylett's friendship with the old families of the county. The first is a poem of three stanzas and a couplet, the stanzas rhyming a b b a a c c d d c; and the second, a poem of seventeen rhymed couplets. The couplet which concludes the first

poem reads:

Be it like Sions Mount inaugurated, Which is by Sions MOUNTAIGNE consecrated.

This determines the approximate date of the poem, as George Montaigne was Bishop of London from September, 1621, until the latter

part of 1627.

"The Converts Conquest" is a tiresome poem of 110 lines, in couplets. The "conquest" is an anxious Christian's recovery of assurance that he has been redeemed. Like so much of Aylett's reflective poetry, it is melancholy evidence of the havoc that Calvinism could play with art.

"Upon Sight of a Most Honorable Ładys Wedding Garter" voices a true Englishman's reverence for the noble Order of the Garter:

¹ Stanzas 15-17. Sylvester's stanza reads (ed. 1621, p. 526):

"I am VRANIA (then a-loud she said)

Who humane-kinde aboue the *Poles* transport,

Teaching their hands to touch, and eyes to see
All th' enter-course of the *Celestiall Court*."

May I become so bless'd as once to see That glorious Sun, who now inlightens Thee. For as in spring the piercing Solar beams Thaw purest Ysicles to Crystal streams: So this might cause my frozen rhimes to run Smooth, as when first my Youth knew Helicon. So have I seen a Bird whose golden Bill Shadow'd with feathers, black in Cage sit still, And silent in a close dark gloomy night, Upon th' approach of some pure taper-light, Send forth such ravishing sweet melodies, As *Philomel*, when Sol's first seen to rise. Just so the sight of one C[h] ast Virgins Garter Rouzeth my Muse from her obscure poor Quarter, Made up of *mudd*, and covered o'er with *Reed* To sing of *Lords*, and *Ladyes* gentle *deed*; ¹ At which all stand amaz'd that shall hereafter read. What, can a Garter kindle such a flame? It was a Garter with Saint George's name That rais'd an Order, whose great Acts and Glory Makes Theams for Muses, and all lasting story. An Order patroniz'd by mighty Kings; Whose valiant Feats high Fame upon her wings Lifts up to heaven, and by her voice sounds forth Beyond the foamy seas o're all the earth. This Garter's dame descends of this brave race, And to the *Muses* prove an *ornament* and *grace*: Therefore in *Honour's* Temple may claime place.

The "Divine Quadrains," of which there are forty-four, and the "Quadrains, Moral and Civil," which number fifty-seven and sixteen, are modeled on the *Quadrains of Pibrac*, the *Little Bartas*, or *Brief Meditations on the Power*, *Providence*, *Greatness and Goodness of God*, and the *Memorials of Mortalitie* of Pierre Matthieu — all translated by Sylvester. These poems cannot be accurately dated, but the "Quadrains, Moral and Civil" contain observations that appear to have grown out of Aylett's later experiences:

An old Man after seventy should forbear To moile and tug in windy Worlds affaires,

¹ Cf. Faerie Queene, I, Proem, stanza 1.

But leave young Men of courage them to bear, Assisting with their Counsel and their prayers.

God's patience here in Order doth preserve Even things most opposite, thus to invite Us Mortals Peace with those men to conserve, Whose actions seem most odious to our sight.²

The following quatrains are two of many that seem born of the Revolution:

When th' ignorant rude multitude get head, And force on Wise their own determinations, Like Dragons taile they hands and body lead, Blindfold into destructive Deviations.

And as we in the natural do feel So 'tis in Government political: If once the Head be spurn'd at by the Heel, Down goes the Body, Arms, Head, Legs, and all.³

Four other quatrains reflect the attitude of an extremely conservative jurist toward any departure from precedent and established authority, either in courts of justice or religious beliefs and practice:

Discretion, Spirit, and Antiquity,
Three Standards are by which the Puritan,
The Pope and Justice all would weigh and try,
And give new Laws and Rights to God and Man.

Thus Justices when they in judging stray From Country Laws to Rules they best do mind, Though they judge right, yet open they a way To evil men of judging in like kind.

So when good learned men prefer their own Before the Churches old determination, A way is to phanatique Spirits shown, To Idolize their own interpretation.

The Church of *Rome* which too much did rely On their Antiquity and old Tradition: First vilipended sacred History, And for true worship brought in Superstition.⁴

¹ "Quadrains Moral," stanza 30.

² Ibid., stanza 45. Cf. the "Christmas Carol," p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, stanzas 34-35.
4 *Ibid.*, stanzas 4-8.

But, if Aylett is a conservative jurist, he is one who recognizes that, though men cannot see eye to eye, they should cultivate a fraternal tolerance one for the other — an attitude which he would gladly take toward sectarians if only the stubborn fellows would listen to reason:

Men's mindes (as faces) seldom like we see; From whence springs such variety of Sects: Yet good men whose Opinions disagree, Should hug each other with fratern respects.

Yet wildest Beasts by man are easilyer tam'd Than Sectaries convinc'd by Arguments: Gentiles were sooner from their lusts reclaim'd Then are the Jews from servile Rudiments.¹

If the "Quadrains, Moral and Civil" suggest late composition, the "Divine Quadrains," which merely rephrase the theological ideas of the meditations, may quite as well have been early as late work.

The four ecloques of A Wife are in a different vein from the other poems that make up the volume, and incline one to wish that Aylett had not so exclusively cultivated Urania as his muse. Married life is the theme, and its pros and cons are discussed with animation and much homely quaintness. In the first ecloque, Tityrus, an older shepherd, warmly recommends marriage to Dicus, who is young and interested, but fearful. In the second, Dicus is so enraptured with his newfound bliss that Tityrus must needs caution him that marriage is not all a bed of roses. In the third, Dorus, who is free and somewhat cynical, and Battus, who has found that the material comforts of marriage outweigh its discomforts, debate the world-old question. In the final eclogue, at the solicitation of Dorus and Battus, Tityrus reviews his three marriages, but not until he has drawn upon experience to make certain observations on public affairs. Now, since Tityrus proves to be none other than the poet himself, these eclogues have a very real biographical interest: they throw a good deal of light on Aylett's domestic affairs and show how he regarded the changes in church and state attendant upon the Revolution.

In the fourth eclogue, Dorus proposes that the shepherds sit under a sheltering oak while Tityrus "Delights our Ears with Pastorall and

[&]quot; "Quadrains Civil," stanzas 4-5.

Song" — whereupon Tityrus responds as follows, in a style clearly reminiscent of Spenser's ecclesiastical eclogues:

In younger years (which I remember still) I once lay slumbring on Parnassus hill, Where surely I a sounder nap had taken, Had I not been with hideous noise awaken; I thought of Wolves, but prov'd close by the Ears, Fierce Mastifs full of jealousies and fears: Upon fresh trail they bellow out like thunder, And all within their dint like lightning plunder; They cry in Kirk and State for Reformations, Thereby to make ours their own Habitations; They this pretend for good of all our Lambs, Devouring all our Kiddys with their Dams; God on the dwellings hath his justice shewn, They that did covet ours have lost their own; May never such devouring greedy hounds Uncoupled be again on English grounds: Be's name to all posterity a scorn, That first up to this hunt did winde his Horn.

Dorus.

What this to thee? these stirs far North were made, Thou *Tyterus* ¹ laist safe here under shade.

Tyterus.

It is my nature, I more inly groan
For others sufferings, then at mine own:
My bowels yern, my heart within doth bleed,
To hear th' ill brought on them and their Seed.

This passage obviously alludes to the efforts of the Scotch, through the Solemn League and Covenant and all that developed in consequence of it, to force the Presbyterian system upon England. The wolves, as in Spenser, are the Roman Catholics, but the fierce mastiffs are the barbaric Scotch. The line, "They that did covet ours have lost their own," obviously refers to the thorough subjugation of Scotland, completed in 1652. Dorus continues:

I fear'd at first, thou out of discontent, Hadst shot thy Bolt 'gainst present Government.

¹ Sometimes spelled "Tityrus," sometimes "Tyterus."

To this remark Tityrus replies:

I loathe to make my Governors a mark,
No gentle dog will at his Keeper bark,
They certain that above the Stern do steer,
Great Atlas burthens on their shoulders bear,
I envy not the States that highest be,
Let me enjoy my self and conscience free;
The Pow'rs that are, be by the Heavens ordain'd,
And none but by that Pow'r can be maintain'd:
They f[r]eed my Lamb from Wolves and Tigers, I
Can scarce preserve them from the Fox and Fly;
These and the like so heavily me presse,
For Muse scar'd ne're put on comely dresse;
I brake my Pipe, forbear my Lute to string,
So as in tune I have forgot to sing.

If these lines reveal only lukewarm acceptance of the Cromwellian regime, they yet express Aylett's belief, so consistent with his lifelong acceptance of the Calvinistic theology, that God's designs are being carried out.

The title-page states that this is the second edition of A Wife, "Wherein are some things added but nothing amended." As, with the exception of the above, the four eclogues are confined to discussions of married life, and as the first edition was published in 1633, these political observations are clearly additions to the eclogue as originally written. There is one other brief historical allusion, in the third eclogue. Dorus proposes that he engage Tityrus for a feast on the morrow, remarking that

In youth he could both caroll, dance and play, But with his head, his wit begins to gray; Like skillful Lech his Patient he can please, Yet be in open war with his disease:

Malignant humours purg'd by golden Pill Improve a Wife by giving her her will.

Of the first edition, entered to "Master Milborne" on June 6, 1633, no extant copy is known. Robert Milbourne died in 1642, and on February 25, 1642/3, thirty-five items were transferred from "Milbourne deceased" to "Master Dainty." Dainty printed from 1623 to 1652, and transferred some theological books to the widow of Christopher Meredith, but A Wife is not mentioned in either transfer. (I am indebted to Miss Mary Isabel Fry for the material of this note.)

Upon this Battus observes:

When his Grand-master *Melibaus* died, His Freaks and Frolicks all were laid aside.

"Melibaus" may refer to Bishop King, or perhaps to Archbishop

Laud, since Aylett was in turn the devoted servant of each.

But most interesting autobiographically are the passages in which the poet writes of his own marital affairs. In the fourth eclogue, Dorus addresses Tityrus as follows:

> Yet Tyterus to ymp the wings of Time Thou happily remember maist some Rimes In praise of Wives, for thou hast married three, For Battus two, too many, three for me, He hath but one, and would learn how to use her, I none, and therefore fain would learn to chuse her.

Thus urged, Tityrus tells the story of his second marriage, clearly his great romance. The account ends with this tribute:

She free obedience offered me as Head, I her all Honour at my board and bed; She wholsome meat, not costly, made my diet, My Coat was even a Paradise of quiet: When 'mongst the shepheardesses she was seen, All justly her adored as their Queen: She as dear Sisters them did use and call, And in sweet humblenesse out-went them and all; When in a round they sate them down to sing She treble was and Diamond in the Ring: My Coats chief Ornament by day and night, The golden Candlestick whence issues light; If ought she saw in others worth her heed, She practis'd, and her patern did exceed, For she not only knew but practis'd all The graces grown in her habituall.

Battus then inquires:

If she transcended so in word and deed, Why is she gone and left none of her breed? Tityrus replies:

Heavens would not so much for one mortall do As give him such a Wife and Children too, A losse not portable, but that we plain Discern our losse was her immortall gain; The God of Life when he did her deny A Pow'r to live, most willing make to die.

If this seems to echo the tombstone it is not surprising, for Battus' query and Tityrus' aphoristic first couplet are borrowed from the tablet which Aylett placed in Feering Church in memory of this second wife! That couplet was not to die in the chancel of a country church. After another interruption, in which Dorus reminds Tityrus that he used to say that young wives must be broken like young colts, Tityrus is asked about his first wife. That marital episode he covers in four lines:

That which at first her friends and she did fear, Was manifest to us within the Year; A Hectick Feaver her deni'd of breath, She was unparellel'd in Life and Death.

Battus next asks, "What of thy third?" To this final question Tityrus responds:

My Friend 'tis not the Fashion,
To praise the 'live with Funerall Oration,
Her heart I ought bedew with double tears,
As she with me hath doubled both their years; ²
If fates require that I shall stay behinde her,
I shall commend of her then as I finde her,
Neat, prudent, frugall, bountifull and grave.

"Neat, prudent, frugall, bountifull and grave"—it must have seemed to the third wife a rather decent epitaph to anticipate, save by comparison!

"Tityrus's Songs," which follow the eclogues, are a little collection of miscellaneous verses as follows: "A Mandee to Grammar Scholars," in which youth is urged to cultivate the Muses; "To His Little Valentine"; "To His Mistresse"; "To the Same":

¹ See p. 40.

3 This poem is reproduced in Brydges, Censura Literaria, II, 380-81.

² For the bearing of this line on the duration of Aylett's second marriage, see p. 40.

When I my love to Myra tell, She answers alway well, well, well; That you can speak well I do know, But I'de fain learn how you will do;

"A Song" in praise of the chaste women in biblical lore; two untitled couplets:

All Stories reade over and o're again, You'l finde more women bad than good of Men.

The Pride of Scholars is to prove good Readers; The Crown of Women is to be good Breeders;

"A Suitor to His Mistresse," beginning

Astrea that left Earth to Heaven to flee Is now come back and Fair enshrin'd in thee;

"An Epitaph" for Mary Waters Honywood; and, in conclusion, "His Own Epitaph":

Haec suprema Dies sit mihi prima quies. Lord let this last be my first day of Rest.²

The two short elegies in memory of Edmund Alleyn and his wife afforded an opportunity for those pietistic platitudes and grotesque conceits so much relished in the seventeenth century. Of the wife, the poet observes:

"This Widow true to onely one mans side, Might from her body count before she di'd More Scions then be daies in longest year, This Honywood did all these Hony-suckels rear."

The remarkable subject of this epitaph was Mary Waters, the widow of Robert Honywood, in whose honor a monument was placed in the nave of the parish church at Markshall, Essex, the residence of her eldest son, Robert (d. 1627), and her grandson, Sir Thomas. Cf. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: North-east Essex (London, 1922), p. 177. She was buried at Lenham. Cf. Edward Hasted, The History . . . of Kent (Canterbury, 1797-1901), V, 425. The following record appears in The Visitations of Essex, ed. Walter C. Metcalfe (London, 1878-[79]), p. 423:

"Mary Waters daughter & coheire of Robert Waters of Lenham in com. Kent esqr. wiffe of Robert Honywood of Charing in the said county had at her deth lawfully descended from her 367 children (vizt.) 16 of her owne body 114 grandchildren 228 in the 3rd generation & 9 in the 4 degree. shee led a most pious liffe & in a christian manner. Dyed at Markehall

in the 93 yeares of her age & 44th of her widdowhood on the 16 of May 1620."

² See p. 47.

Long didst thou look, and longing wish to move Up to thy *Loadstarre*, which thou eyd'st above, But couldst not rise so high, till thou wert light, Then up to Heav'n to him thou tak'st thy flight, As pure *Steel needle* ardently doth move To *Load-stone*, wherewithall it is in love.

These elegies were probably written in 1633, and may have been

printed with the first edition of A Wife, 1633.2

As stated above, the volume concludes with an unpaged "Christmas Carol. 1645," and two brief moral observations in rhyme. The carol is interesting for the light that it throws on Aylett's character and personality, and his attitude toward men and affairs at this critical

period:

Is this a time to Carol, Dice, and Play, When Thousands of our Brethren ev'ry day Their Brothers Souls and Bodies do divide, Which God hath joyn'd, and for whom Christ hath di'd? Repent, amend: be Peter's tears thy Potion; Contrition is the mother of Devotion. Sea-men by Storms grow expert in their Trade, And Christians are by suff'rings perfect made. The murth'rers of our LORD we all defie, Whom by our sins we daily crucifie. I more am griev'd for them that on me offer Disgrace and scorn, then for the wrongs they proffer. This was our dying Saviour's document: Weep not for me, I for your sins lament. By Nature, we do ill to them that ill-us; By Grace, do good, and pray for them that kill-us. Such Anthems did the Lords Anointed sing For them that murth'red their Liege-Lord & King. Oh, I abhor their Counsels, that do reel This side or that, as Fortune turns her wheel, And to the winde on sudden ope their Sayls, Still siding with the Faction that prevails.

The first elegy is reproduced in Brydges, Restituta, IV, 39.

Edmund Alleyn died prior to the visitation of 1634, leaving a son Edmond, "aged about 2 yeares ao 1634," and a daughter Mary. (Visitations of Essex, p. 334.) As a year probably intervened between the births of the children, Mary must have been born in 1633 or early in 1634; and, as the father died before Mary's birth and the mother shortly thereafter, 1633 seems the probable date of the elegies. Their inclusion with A Wife in the 1653 edition, creates a presumption that they also appeared with the first edition of that poem.

Yet stand admire Gods patience, that brings Order from such confused times and things, And from our heart pray for their reformation Whose doings we have in abomination. The Rule of Rules is, Learn thy Self to know, And look on Sublunaries as below Thy Souls chief Treasure: such men learn to die, And slight all Humane Pomp's sublimitie. Ah, to what numbers hath the loss of wealth, With heap'd afflictions, been the cause of health; And taught our Pride of heart with patience bear The scorns which Conscience doth within us clear! The world is vanquisht only by contempt: Despise her, thou art from her frowns exempt. I onely them brave Conquerors can deem, That hold this breath of life in mean esteem. Then cast off fears and cares: he (in a word) Half overcomes, who bravely draws his sword. To be faint-hearted, and at first to yield, Is ere the Battel's joyn'd to leave the field. Afflictions here, are like to richest Wines: Astonish, if us'd ill; well, Medicines. Who evil can for Heav'n with patience bear, Lead up the Van, and follow on the Rear.

The concluding observations, born also of the Revolution, are as follows:

Uprightly, like old Cato's son, to deal,
The Times now will not bear;
Who serve Turns private, not the Commonweal,
For Lucre act or fear:

He that will be upright and equal, must Be at all times, and to all persons just.

In 1655, after Aylett's death, Abel Roper, the publisher of the Divine, and Moral Speculations, brought out Devotions, Viz. 1. A Good Womans Prayer, 2. The Humble Mans Prayer, by R. A. D. L. These prayers, which total fifteen pages, are, as Brydges 2 concisely puts it,

¹ There is an engraved frontispiece by Cross, representing a female figure at prayer, with the legend, "Pulchrior intus."

² Restituta, IV, 42.

"supplications for gifts and graces, such as were possessed by the most distinguished characters in holy writ, female and male." The verse employed is a shortened Spenserian stanza, a b a b b, the last line being an Alexandrine. The dedication is to Lady Anne Pierrepont, daughter of Dorchester. These poems are in Aylett's most tiresome vein.

It now remains to speak of two other works. A volume entitled Davids Troubles Remembred in 1. Absolons Sheep-shearing. 2. Joab projecting. 3. Bathsheba bathing. 4. Israel rebelling. 5. Ahithophel hanging. 6. David returning, published anonymously in 1638 (entered November 27, 1637), is conjecturally attributed to Aylett in the revised catalogue of the British Museum. It is a sacred epic in six books, written in rhymed couplets and running to 3,410 lines, exclusive of Psalm LI, which is introduced into the third book in lyrical form.

No uncertainty need be felt about the authorship, for this little volume can be assigned to Aylett without any hesitancy. To be sure, Du Bartas had furnished a model which could readily be imitated; but, though the subject matter chosen, the narrative itself (amplified by conversation, enlivened by details, and modernized), the classical allusions, and the didacticism and moral gravity, are all characteristic of the genre, certain details are too individual to be mistaken. Thus, Absalom's praise of the homely virtues of the shepherd, on the one hand, and the picture of life at court,3 on the other; the elaborate description of the lovely Bathsheba; 4 and the impudent cynicism of Absalom and Talmai, devising means to snatch the throne 5 (so suggestive of the final episode in *Mother Hubberds Tale*) — are all reminiscent of Spenser, upon whom Aylett is found so often to lean.

Still more significant, however, is the poet's preoccupation with

¹ The Short-Title Catalogue lists only one copy of this book. There is a second copy, however, in the Huntington Library. The book was printed by Richard Hodgkinsonne for Daniel Frere.

² The translation of this psalm is in nine stanzas of six verses each. The initial stanza reads as follows:

"Of thy great goodnesse, Lord, some pitty take
On me whom sinne
Doth now awake,
If thou in louing kindnesse wilt begin,
All mine offences easely may,
Be by thy mercies done away."

4 Pp. 19^v-20^v.

5 Pp. 27 ff.

3 Pp. 3r and v.

those religious innovators who were causing so much trouble to the ecclesiastical authorities, for, as we shall see later, during the years when the poem was being written Aylett was deeply involved in the work of putting down these Puritan malcontents and subverters of the established order. So aroused are the poet's feelings that he makes two long and savage attacks upon the fomenters of "Church-disorder," heartily wishing that they would quickly betake themselves "to some newfound Land." The "rattling, shallow" Puritan lecturers, the fickle multitude, restless for novelties, and the "great men" who cultivate these malcontents for selfish political ends, are equally the objects of his scorn:

Nought more (saith Abishai) foments the rude Seditions of the giddy multitude,
Than those our wandring Levites, discontent
At Churches, or the Kingdomes government;
Their reason why they are so disaffected
Is, that they think their gifts too much neglected,
That they are not assum'd, yet able are
The weight of government alone to beare;
And therefore new Church Orders will devise,
To make the people all the old despise,
And thus would bring into the peoples hate,
All ancient governours of Church and State.

Let a great man, run riot, swagger, sweare, And for his lust and pleasure nothing spare, If he familiarly himself acquaint
With such, they'l publish him to be a Saint.²
These are good meanes, but I advise that thou Invent unto thy self some new-found vow, Be it the vainest thing thou canst devise, They'l follow thee by droves to sacrifice:
As now you see them run most greedily, To fasts maintain'd without authority, Or t'heare a rattling shallow Levite prate, Whose tongue is interdicted by the State:
Do but disgrace old rules, and fashion new, Thou shalt their hearts to thee for ever glew,

¹ P. 15^v.

² An allusion to Warwick? See Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1888), VI, 404.

For nothing doth the people so possesse, As humouring their spirituall wantonnesse. Nor can a Prince a project better cloke, Than underneath a Sacrifice of smoke.

The writer of these passages certainly felt a great antipathy to the Puritans.

But perhaps the most convincing internal evidence for Aylett's authorship is the description of Bathsheba bathing, which is a restudy of the like description in *Susanna*. Of Susanna, the poet had written:

But she into the water leaping light, To coole her heate, inflameth their delight, Where purest waters her faire limbs embrace, As Iuory Sculpture in a cristall case.²

This is revised to read:

But soon she leaps into the water light, Where lo, she shines like to a *Lilly* white, In purest glasse, or as we see a Grace *Idea'd* sweetly in a *Christall Case*.³

Further confirmation of Aylett's authorship is furnished by the commendatory verses, for one of these tributes — as well as Latin verses "ad Lectorem" — is written by Robert Sibthorp, who was married to Aylett's own cousin, the sister of Sir John Lambe. In the light of all this evidence, the case of Aylett's authorship would seem to be unassailable.

The poem is without dedication, and the actual date of composition is rendered uncertain by the inclusion of verses "To the Author" by Robert Willan. This must be the Robert Willan who was chaplain to Charles I and rector of Gestingthorpe and Great Stanway, Essex, at

¹ P. 30^v. ² P. 17. ³ P. 19^v.

⁴ Sibthorp was a royalist divine who had won the favor of Charles I by a sermon preached in 1627 in support of the doctrine of complete obedience, and was rewarded by being made chaplain in ordinary to the King. At the time when *Davids Troubles Remembred* was published, he was busily engaged, as commissary to the diocese of Peterborough, in correcting Puritan practices, and he commends the poet for pointing out the necessity, before it is too late,

[&]quot;Church and State Hypocrites, in their own trap, To catch, though maskt & lul'd in fortunes lap."

the time of his death, October 26, 1630. It is conceivable, of course, that Willan's verses, which make no *specific* reference to this volume, were a tribute to Aylett's earlier poems. Certainly the closing lines imply that the author had written much poetry of this type:

It shall bee written on thy mournfull Herse, Hee turn'd all sacred Story into Verse.

There is also a Latin commendation by G. H. The anonymity of the volume is readily explicable by the political tensions that existed in 1638, and the exclusion of these poems from the collected edition of

1654 was only ordinary prudence in view of the changed order.

Finally, I wish to suggest the possibility that Aylett was the "R. A. Gent." who wrote the play entitled The Valiant Welshman, or The True Chronicle History of the Life and Valiant Deedes of Caradoc the Great, King of Cambria, Now Called Wales, published in 1615. E. K. Chambers comments on this play as follows: "Borrowings from Ben Jonson's Alchemist (1610) require a late date, and the assertion of Fleay, i. 26, that this is The Welshman revived by the Admiral's on 29 Nov. 1595 may be disregarded (Greg, Henslowe, II. 178). There is nothing, beyond the initials, to connect the play with Robert Armin, and Kreb would assign it to some young University man." 2 The highly moral tone of the play, the narrative and episodic, rather than dramatic, handling of the plot, the familiar use of classical allusions, and the historical erudition displayed, give some slight color to the suggestion of Aylett's authorship, reinforced, perhaps, by the opening stanzas of "Urania." As a devoted admirer of Spenser, Aylett may have looked about for an early hero, comparable to Prince Arthur, and hit upon Caradoc. Moreover, Aylett was a "gentleman" and so signed himself on occasion.

In concluding this survey of the poetry, it remains to state that, however determinative the influence of Du Bartas, Aylett borrowed much more from Spenser than from any other poet. Sometimes he merely alludes to a character or episode:

Another Robert Willan (d. 1654) was rector of a church in Norfolk, but his and Aylett's

paths could hardly have crossed. Cf. Alumni Cantabrigienses.

² The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford, 1923), IV, 51. For Valentin Kreb's discussion of the authorship, see his edition of the play, in Münchener Beiträge zur Romanischen und Englischen Philologie, XXIII (1902), lxi–lxix.

Yea Collin Clout doth break his Pipe for shame, To hear the heav'nly ditties of his Dame."

Now will I raise fair Alma's stately tower, On Temperance her strong and soundest frame.2

Divinest Spencer, thou didst shadow well In Legend of true Loue and Chastity: By girdle fair of fairest Florimell, This sacred *Belt* of *Truth* and *Verity*, Which none on looser Ladies joints could tie, Yet their fair Limbs that had liv'd true and chaste, It did adorn most rich and gloriously, And was most fitting for their slender waste, But they Ungirt unblest, were that had been unchaste.3

More often a part of a stanza is borrowed with little if any change, though quite a different turn is given to the conclusion:

> For as a gentle heart it selfe bewrayes, By doing courteous deeds with free delight, Ev'n so base dunghill mind it self displayes, In malice, churlishness, revenge and spight: Humanity is Friendships cheifest might, Foes reconciler, Bounty's greatest Fame, Than to accept more ready to requite, Gifts are to her like Oyl pour'd on the flame, Which more and more her heart with friendly love inflame.4

Compare Faerie Queene, Book VI, canto 7, stanza 1:

Like as the gentle hart it selfe bewrayes, In doing gentle deedes with franke delight, Euen so the baser mind it selfe displayes, In cancred malice and reuengefull spight. For to maligne, t' enuie, t' vse shifting slight, Be arguments of a vile donghill mind, Which what it dare not doe by open might, To worke by wicked treason wayes doth find, By such discourteous deeds discouering his base kind.

^x Susanna, p. 6, ll. 1-2. (The references for the Aylett quotations are all to the 1654 volume, as somewhat more accessible than the earlier printings of the poems.)

² "Of Bounty," stanza 1, ll. 1–2, p. 173. ³ "Of Truth," stanza 32, p. 103.

^{4 &}quot;Of Courtesie," stanza 19, p. 399.

In a fair number of stanzas the rhymes are kept throughout, though the wording is slightly modified:

Despair not yet, frail, silly, fleshly wight,
Nor let Distrust amate thy manfull heart,
Nor Satans malicing dismay thy sprite,
Thou in thy Saviours merits hast a part,
Oh why shouldst thou despair, that certain art
Of Christ thy Saviour? Lo! in him is grace,
From thee for ever to remoue Hels smart.
And that accurst hand-writing to deface,
No sins can be so great, but Mercy may have place.

This, of course, is borrowed from a stanza in Spenser's well-known allegory of Despair:

Come, come away, fraile, feeble, fleshly wight,
Ne let vaine words bewitch thy manly hart,
Ne diuelish thoughts dismay thy constant spright.
In heauenly mercies hast thou not a part?
Why shouldst thou then despeire, that chosen art?
Where iustice growes, there grows eke greater grace,
The which doth quench the brond of hellish smart,
And that accurst hand-writing doth deface.
Arise, Sir knight arise, and leaue this cursed place.²

Indeed, stanzas 36-42 of Aylett's meditation, "Of Death," lean heavily, throughout, on stanzas 40-53 of the allegory of Despair, though the sequence of the original is not followed. Aylett was certainly steeped in Spenser's poetry; but, great as was his admiration for the master, he yet felt that the Bible, as an inspired work, was the noblest storehouse for the poet:

Paul ready is not onely to be bound,
But at Ierusalem for Christ to die;
He pacient is in all afflictions found,
Constant in losses, joy, prosperity:
Read his imprisonments brave history

[&]quot; "Of Death," stanza 41, p. 475.

² Faerie Queene, Bk. I, canto 9, stanza 53.

You there shall more divine *Idea's* finde Then *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Spencer*, can supply, Though they in loftiest *strains* the form have lin'd Of a most brave, heroick, *constant*, noble mind.^x

Robert Aylett was the son of Leonard and Anne Pater Aylett, of Rivenhall, Essex,² and belonged to a county family of great antiquity, for in 1174 a "Boidin Ailet" had been granted land by the crown.³ The year of Aylett's birth is uncertain, but it was probably 1583.⁴

Impressions of his childhood and youth can be gathered from his poetry. The country gentleman depicted as Joachim and the efficient mistress as Susanna, while somewhat conventionalized sketches, at least represent the types upon which such a godly seventeenth-century

" "Of Constancy," stanza 35, p. 392.

The following table covers the more specific borrowings from Spenser:

AYLETT	Spenser *
Song of Songs, chap. vii, last l., p. 12	Prothalamion, 1. 17, et passim
The Brides Ornaments, Proem, pp. 15-20	Bk. I, can. 10
"Of Heavenly Love," st. 19, ll. 1-2, p. 21	Bk. IV, Proem, st. 2, ll. 1-2
"Of Humility," st. 19, ll. 5-9, p. 37	The Shepheardes Calender, Februarie, 11. 102 ff.
"Of Repentance," st. 50, ll. 1-2, p. 56	Bk. I, can. 9, st. 40, l. 8
"Of Hope," st. 27, l. 5, p. 78	Bk. I, can. 9, st. 29, l. 9
"Of Truth," st. 32, p. 103	Bk. IV, can. 5, st. 6, et passim
"Of Mercy," sts. 15-26, pp. 111-13	Bk. I, can. 10, sts. 34 ff.
"Of Temperance," sts. 8-9, p. 164	Bk. II, can. 12, sts. 3 ff.
"Of Temperance," st. 38, p. 170	Bk. VI, can. 9, st. 30
"Of Bounty," sts. 1-3, p. 173	Bk. II, can. 9, sts. 17 ff.
"Of Wisdom," st. 30, p. 202	Hymne of Heauenly Beautie, 11. 182 ff.
"Of Constancy," st. I, p. 376	Bk. I, can. 9, st. 1
"Of Constancy," st. 5, ll. 6-7, p. 384	Bk. VII, can. 8, st. 2
"Of Constancy," st. 35, l. 9, p. 392	Bk. I, can. 6, st. 4, l. 3; can. 7, st. 28, ll. 5-6
"Of Courtesie," st. 18, ll. 5-6, p. 399	Bk. VI, Proem, st. 4, ll. 1-2
"Of Courtesie," st. 19, ll. 1-4, p. 399	Bk. VI, can. 7, st. 1, ll. 1-4
"Of Courtesie," st. 34, p. 403	Bk. VI, can. 2, st. 1, ll. 1-9
"Of Death," sts. 36-42, pp. 474-75	Bk. I, can. 9, sts. 40–53
Susanna, p. 6, ll. 1-2	The Shepheardes Calender, Januarie, 11. 60-72
Ioseph, p. 13, l. 6	Bk. VI, can. 2, st. 28, l. 9
* The references are to the Faerie Queene unless otherwise indicated.	

* The references are to the Faerie Queene unless otherwise indicated.

² Visitations of Essex, p. 339.

³ See The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Essex, ed. William Page and J. Horace Round (Westminster, 1903), I, 392. See also Philip Morant, The History and

Antiquities of the County of Essex (London, 1768), II, 393b.

⁴ This date is supported by the "AE^t: 52. 1635" on the engraving mentioned earlier (p. 16) — a notation doubtless supplied by Aylett himself; the memorial in Great Braxted Church, however, gives his age as seventy-three at the time of his death, March 15, 1655 (see p. 47).

household as the Ayletts' would have been modeled. Again, "A Mandee to Grammar Scholars," with its approbation of a youth spent in the pleasant cultivation of the Muses and in serious preparation for a gratifying and honorable career, is the expression of one who looked back upon his own school days with satisfaction. The quiet beauty of the gentle countryside, however, finds no reflection in Aylett's poetry.

His collegiate education was received mainly at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1605, M.A. in 1608, and LL.D. in 1614. From the first, Aylett may have had the civil law in mind as a profession, because he went to Trinity Hall, which, from its foundation by Bishop William Bateman in 1350 until the nationalization of the church, had devoted itself primarily to the training of men in civil and canonical law, and, since the Reformation, to the training of civilians, most of whom were laymen. This study of the civil law, which had been languishing at both Oxford and Cambridge for two or three decades because the practice of the common law seemed to be more promising, had recently received a decided impetus at Cambridge by the appointment, in 1598, of John Cowell as master of Trinity Hall. His great aim was "to restore the profession of the civilian to something of the importance that it had possessed in the days of imperial Rome and in the medieval universities." 2 But whether or not, when he matriculated, Aylett had decided on law as his profession, he did not enter upon the study of it until after he had undergone the traditional training incident to the degrees of bachelor of arts and master of arts. In the three-year program for the second degree, "theology was at once the chief study and the arena to which those who contended for intellectual distinction, for popularity, and for the prizes of high office and social influence found themselves, with but few exceptions, irresistibly attracted." 3 In this theological training the Institutes of Calvin held central place. After taking his master's degree, Aylett transferred to Oxford, where he was incorporated in 1608,

¹ The study of law was divided between the universities and the Inns of Court. The universities confined their teaching largely to the civil law and the Inns to the common law. Of the rivalry between the civil and common lawyers and its political implications, and a discussion of the courts in which each was practiced, see W. S. Holdsworth, *History of the English Law* (Boston, 1922–27), IV.

² J. B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1873-1911), II, 496. ³ Ibid., II, 414-15.

but we do not know how long he remained. In any case, he proceeded LL.D. at Cambridge in 1614, the curriculum then requiring six years of legal study. A young man, upon receiving the degree of D.C.L. or of LL.D., was considered to be soundly trained in the history and theory of civil law. However, before being admitted as an advocate — that is, before being permitted to practice in any ecclesiastical court, the court of admiralty, or the court of chancery — he had to secure a certificate of approval from the Archbishop of Canterbury, be admitted to the Court of Arches by the dean, and attend the court for a year. Aylett received his fiat from Archbishop Abbot, was admitted as an advocate on November 1, 1617, and elected to Doctors' Commons 2 on the same day.

The first stanza of the dedication of *The Song of Songs* to Bishop John King, written in 1621, leaves little doubt that Aylett was given some kind of employment by the bishop in the ecclesiastical court of the diocese of London. As the London parishes were under the legal jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, operating through the Court of Peculiars, the Consistory Court of the diocese of London was concerned with the affairs of the provincial churches. As an Essex man, Aylett would most logically have been assigned to duties in that county, either directly under Bishop King or under the Archdeacon of Colchester, who was the bishop's chief official and representative in the county. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that during the Laudian regime Aylett was commissary of the Bishop of London and judge of the commissary court in that part of the diocese.⁴

Meanwhile, Aylett had found time, prior to 1621, to write The

3 Ernest Nys, Le droit Romain, le droit des gens, et le collège des docteurs en droit civil

(Bruxelles, 1910), App., p. 147.

² On the Court of Arches and the office of the dean, see Holdsworth, op. cit., I, 601-2.

The Doctors' Commons was an organization of civil lawyers, analogous to the Inns of Court and the Serjeants' Inn. For details, see ibid., IV, 235-37.

⁴ If the contemporary records of the diocese of London were extant or available, this point could be determined, but the archives of the Bishop of London were presumably destroyed by the Long Parliament when the Court of High Commission was dissolved. Cf. Roland G. Usher, The Rise and Fall of the Court of High Commission (Oxford, 1913), p. 39. Such records as may have survived are either at Fulham Palace, and not readily available, or stored in an inaccessible chamber in St. Paul's Cathedral. Cf. Hist. MSS. Comm., Report of MSS. in Various Collections (London, 1914), VII, 1-9: "The Manuscripts of the Bishop of London," by R. L. Poole.

Song of Songs and The Brides Ornaments. If The Valiant Welshman is his work, it must have been composed in his student days. Also prior to this date he had certainly been married once. Of his first wife, who lived less than a year, nothing is known. The second wife was Judith Gaell, in commemoration of whom Aylett placed a brass tablet, with the following inscription, in the north wall of the chancel of Feering Church:

Charissimae suae Judithae filiae Joannis Gaell de Hadleigh Gen^t Ego Robertus Aylett *Legium Doctor* Illius conjux Amoris Ergo posui II^o Decemb.

1623° AEtat suae 29°

God would no longer spare his Treasure lent. Her gaine must give mee for my losse content. Vertue by her was practis'd well as knowne. She dying reap'd what living she had sowne. Since she was so transcendent in her kind Why dyde the stocke & left no branch behind? Heavns would not so much for one mortall doe: As give him such a wife and children too.

Aylett found speedy consolation, however, for on June 1, 1624,¹ he married Penelope Wiseman, the daughter of William Wiseman, J.P., of Mayland, and widow of John Stephens, a barrister.² As the first edition of *A Wife* was entered on June 6, 1633, and as in the fourth eclogue Aylett speaks of having lived with this third wife twice as long as with the first two wives, the marriage to Judith can be dated around 1619–20.

If Aylett was commissary under King, he would logically have continued in the same office under Bishop Montaigne, and that he did so finds confirmatory evidence in the two poems, with their complimentary references to the bishop, on the dedication of Lord Maynard's chapel at Eston.³ Milton's "canary-sucking and swan-eating prelate" ⁴ was too indolent and luxury-loving, however, to be much of a

¹ This date, and transcripts of the memorial to Judith and of the memorial to Aylett, were furnished by the Rev. Russell Brown, Rector of Great Braxted, who has been kindness itself.

² Cf. Visitations of Essex, p. 339, and Round, in Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Soc., X, 26.

³ See p. 20.

⁴ Of Reformation, Bk. I.

reformer or disciplinarian, and it is significant that no disciplining of Puritans sufficiently severe to occasion efforts at redress from the

Long Parliament took place while he held the see of London.

These must have been rather happy years for Aylett. As a member of an old family his social standing was assured, he held an influential position in his own right, and he enjoyed the friendship of men of consequence. He found leisure to devote to his poetry, for by the summer of 1623 he had completed Susanna, Peace with her Foure Garders, Thrifts Equipage, and Ioseph. Probably at this time he established himself in the charming house at Feering which is still associated with his name.

But this period of tranquillity came to an abrupt end with the transfer of Laud to the see of London in July, 1628, for from the moment of taking office he was bent on reform. He was determined that the church services should be fully and devoutly rendered in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, the communion tables restored to the chancel, the uncanonical and troublesome lecturers restrained or suppressed, and all agitation for change, either by Presbyterians or Separatists, curbed. The Consistory Court was responsible for the enforcement of this policy, and Laud must quickly have recognized that in Aylett he had a reliable lieutenant, for he was undoubtedly responsible for Aylett's appointment, along with that of his cousin, Sir John Lambe, later Dean of Arches, to the Court of High Commission 2 on January 7, 1629. That this trust was not misplaced is evident, because Aylett and Lambe were two of the nine commissioners upon whom the work of the commission was to fall most burdensomely.3

From 1628 until his appointment as master in chancery in 1638, Aylett was completely absorbed in his official duties. As commissary for the diocesan court of London and special visiting commissioner under the Court of High Commission for the troublesome county of Essex,

3 See Usher, op. cit., p. 260. Aylett here given as "Ayliffe," but cf. p. 345.

The Rev. Mr. Brown writes of it: "The house is now divided into an inn and two shops but it is quite remarkable for its antique appearance and remains." Round (loc. cit.) says: "Looking at his post as the bishop's commissary, we may surmise that his home at Feering was the quaint old house of Feeringbury between Feering and Coggeshall, which belonged to the Bishop of London."

For a full history of the court, see Usher, op. cit., and Holdsworth, op. cit., I, 605-11.

a strong Puritan center, he had the task of discovering and exposing the irregular practices of his own neighbors, and of correcting them by persuasion or by compulsion. In his various capacities it was his duty: (1) to keep his superior informed as to the correctness with which the clergy were conducting services, the behavior of the lecturers, the care of church properties, and the activities of the obstructionists; (2) to examine and discipline, as commissary judge, troublesome laity; (3) to attend the formal sessions of the Court of High Commission, carrying his share of the heavy load of litigation involved, and to bring before the court those whose grave offenses merited the attention of this high tribunal.

Fragmentary as are the surviving records, when those relating to Aylett are assembled they fall into focus and give a realistic picture of a conscientious official going about his work, untroubled by misgivings, quietly convinced that he was on the Lord's side, and serving, alike, the interests of church and state. In a letter of February 24, 1630, from Frierning Hill, he reports to Laud:

Was last Tuesday at Chelmsford lecture, where Mr. South of Writtle preached, who spake so pertinently against the schism of inconformity, and so gently advised them to peace, that a lawyer said as he came out, "A few such excellent sermons would bring again the people in love with conformity." ²

On March 24, 1630, he writes from Feering:

Was yesterday at Chelmsford lecture, where Mr. Browning of Rayleigh read the whole service both first and second in hood and surplice and made a sermon accommodate to the time and occasion.³

On September 3, 1632, he writes again from Feering:

The people at Colchester are like them of Ephesus. Their Diana is their liberty, and none but their town-clerk can appease their tumult.... A great

¹ The discipline of nonconformists and religious agitators was only a fraction of the work of the High Commission. As one of the legal members, Aylett was kept busy with the many cases that were referred to him for review and recommendation. No less than twenty-four such cases are recorded in the extant records for 1634-35— for the most part concerned with marital troubles, affording dramatic glimpses of human faithlessness and folly.

² Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, for 1629-31 (London, 1860), p. 197. ³ Ibid., p. 220.

professor [Puritan] on Friday last, being in high discontent, rode post towards the sea, threatening to leave the care of wife, children, family, and all, and live in a strange country; but being better advised, fell into some merry Catholic company, and danced and played out Saturday and Sunday, and returned home.

As the decade progressed and the close relationship between religious dissension and political dissension became clearer, presaging civil strife, the visitations of the High Commission became more inquisitorial and the discipline more ruthless. This change is reflected in Aylett's reports. In a letter to Lambe, a hard and sycophantic official, we find him, in March, 1637, engaged in espionage, recommending that the homes of suspects be searched, and that severe measures be taken against the guilty.² Most dangerous of these "topping overworking ones" was the aggressive Separatist, Dr. John Bastwick, who was only silenced when the Star Chamber, not content with the harsh course of the High Commission,³ ruinously fined him, cut off his ears, and imprisoned him in a remote region. To look at a pleasanter side of the picture, it is gratifying to find that Aylett was instrumental in exonerating the venerable John White, the "Patriarch of Dorchester" and promoter of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, from the charges brought against him by a troublesome busybody.⁴

Aylett was also assigned important legal tasks in connection with admiralty procedure. Thus, under date of May 2, 1635, appears the following entry: 5 "Rules and orders of the Lords of the Admiralty to be observed by all Vice-Admirals, re. flotsam, jetsam, treasure trove, ambergrice, etc. Endorsed 'His Majesty's counsel for the Admiralty, Dr. Aylett.'"

The state papers give an interesting glimpse into a domestic situation. In 1639 Barbara, the daughter of Sir John Lambe, and a famous beauty, was staying with the Ayletts at Feering. Of her various suitors, her father strongly favored Sir Basil Feilding, the son and heir of the Earl of Denbigh, and his wishes were gratified when the marriage

¹ *Ibid.*, for 1631–33 (London, 1862), pp. 410–11.

² *Ibid.*, for 1636–37 (London, 1867), pp. 513–14. ³ *Ibid.*, for 1634–35 (London, 1864), pp. 547–48.

⁴ Ibid., p. 459, et passim.

⁵ Ibid., for 1635 (London, 1865), p. 54.

took place on August 12. The Ayletts had supported Sir John's choice and were clearly elated by their young cousin's marriage into so noble a house. Under date of August 7, 1639, Aylett began a letter to Lambe as follows:

Your letter of ye 25 of July came not to my hand till ye 6 of August, in weh space ye king is returned, Dr. Baxter with his new bride gone into Worcestershire, and many other occurrences have falne weh may silence my answering that letter: this in effect is all my wife and I labored and desired to make my Cosin (as much as in us lay) to submit her affection to her father's approbation and content to weh yf our small indeavours have added anything the delight wee both shall take in seeing ye wished end obtained will be an abundant recompence; yf it please my Les Grace or yourselfe to command my service to Ro[th]well [Lambe's place in Northamptonshire] or else where I shall we all alacrity attend it, and if I may bee so happy as there to meet ye fairest of your flock in her new pasture or enclosure it will ad much to ye felicity of my journey. I beseech you, as occasion serves, mention her remembrance of mine my wifes and Mris Alices best services to that noble Lord and my Cosin.

The last entry in the state papers before the convening of the Long Parliament finds Aylett writing to Robert Reade, on September 8, 1640, in behalf of certain clothiers, neighbors of his in the town of Dedham, who had been accused of speaking against His Majesty's proclamation. Aylett assures Reade that they are good and loyal men,

and expresses the hope that this case can be dismissed.2

With the convening of the Long Parliament and the turning of the tide, Aylett was perforce caught in the net. On February 9, 1641, he was fined £100 by the House of Lords for complicity in the persecution of James Wheeler, a churchwarden of Colchester, and on August 7 another £15, upon complaint of one Ekins.³ On February 24 he was included in the articles of impeachment voted by the Commons against Laud, upon the complaint of Bastwick, who had now, along with Burton and Prynne, returned to London in triumph.⁴

² Cal. of State Papers, Dom., for 1640-41 (London, 1882), p. 30.

³ Journals of the House of Lords, IV, 156b; Cal. of State Papers, Dom., for 1641-43 (London, 1887), p. 92.

4 Journals of the House of Commons, II, 92a; Cal. of State Papers, Dom., for 1640-41, p. 479.

This letter, and letters between Barbara and her outspoken and irascible father, are quoted by Round, op. cit., pp. 30-32.

Such was the irony of events that Aylett was now compelled to be the servant of the very Parliament that overthrew the episcopal system, abolished the Court of High Commission and the diocesan courts, adopted the Solemn League and Covenant, and executed Laud, for the masters in chancery were ex officio attendants of the House of Lords,^x their duties being to render expert legal assistance and to carry and explain the actions of the Lords to the Commons. Evasion was futile, for, when Charles issued a proclamation in December, 1642, that the court of chancery should convene at Oxford, the Lords promptly forbade the masters, under penalty, to comply.2 From April, 1642, Aylett was never absent, save for brief intervals, from the sessions of the Lords.3

On December 8, 1642, he was appointed Master of the Faculties, upon the nomination of Laud,4 but, as the Lords increasingly dictated the institutions and inductions in the interest of Puritan appointees,

the office was largely nominal.5

Many of his assignments must have been distasteful enough. On January 30, 1643, it was his lot to inform the Commons that the Lords had passed the bill for the utter abolishing of episcopacy, and, on September 3, 1644, that the Lords were ready to hear the evidence against Laud. His final commission, on February 1, 1649, was to inform them "That the House would take into Consideration the Settlement of the Government of England and Ireland in this present Conjuncture of Things, upon the Death of the King." 8 The venerable messenger was not admitted, and five days later the Lords held their last brief session.

¹ Cf. Holdsworth, op. cit., I, 418.

² Lords' Journals, V, 567.

4 Lords' Fournals, V, 581a; see also Laud, Works (Oxford, 1854), IV, 12-13, where Laud states that he named "Dr. Aylet or Dr. Heath . . . well knowing that it would be in vain to

name any other."

5 Lords' Journals, IX, 491, et passim.

6 Commons' Journals, II, 947. 7 Lords' Journals, VI, 695. 8 Ibid., X, 649.

³ On July 11, 1643, he was given leave for a month to "go unto his House in Essex" (ibid., VI, 128b), and in June-July, 1645, we find him sitting with Sir Nathaniel Brent as a judge in the High Court of Admiralty, to determine the legality of the seizure and retention, as prize, of the "Looking Glass," a Royalist ship, by the "Reformation," "in St. George's river at the mouth of St. Ignatius' creek in Maryland" (Cal. of State Papers, Dom., for 1644-45 [London, 1890], p. 627).

There is little that can be said of Aylett's remaining years. That he found the strong hand of Cromwell a relief after ten years of chaos seems clear. Law and order, at least, had been restored. He apparently enjoyed the friendship of a little coterie of writers and turned to the preparation of his collected works with an old man's pathetic anxiety to perpetuate something of himself. He carried his responsibilities in the court of chancery until shortly before his death, as is evident from the many affidavits and depositions taken by him in connection with the Irish adventurers. The last entry is under date of January 3, 1655. On January 28 he drew his will, and he died on March 15.

His will, with its direction that his old Royalist friend, Sir Benjamin Ayloffe, should choose the spot for his burial, its provision for "my deare wife Penelope" (which he felt was "too meane in respect of her true loue and care of me and my Estate"), and its thoughtful remembrance of "my brother Eltonhead" with "my silke Gowne," is a very human document. Sir Benjamin handsomely discharged the commis-

¹ See p. 25, Tityrus' observations on "present government."

² Cal. of State Papers, Ireland: Adventurers, 1642-1659 (London, 1903), p. 336.

Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 236 Aylett.
Edward Eltonhead, a fellow master in chancery.

5 The will reads as follows:

"In the Name of God Amen. I Robert Aylett Doctour of Law Mr. in Chancerie Commending First my Soule to God and my Bodie to Christian buriall which I wish to be in the Church yard att Much Braxsted in Essex the place to be designed by Sir Benjamin Ayloffe I First will . . . my Coppyhould Tenement in Fering in the Countie of Essex withall . . . the Lands thereunto belonging called Clobbs To Thomas Aylett younger sonne of my late brother deceased and his heires for ever. The rest of all my Copyhouldes according to my promise I leaue to descende to William Aylett my said brothers Eldest sonne. All the rest of my Estate either reall or personall (except my wifes plate Jewells and house-hold stuffe she brought to me being a widowe, which I here declare to be hers) I give to my deare wife Penelope to pay my debts and to sustaine her it being too meane in respect of her true loue and care of me and my Estate. And I nominate . . . my saide wife sole Executrix of this my said Will, Provided if she die before probate . . . or without nameing an Executor that then John Aylett my Kinsman third sonne of my said Brother be my Executor. Lastly I charge my Executors [sic] to deliuer to such of my Freindes and Kindred as I shall . . . sett downe here or in a Schedule annexed hereunto such of my Gownes and wearing Apparrell as they know that I have appoynted and acquainted them all my best silk cloake bound with plush to Sir Beniamin Ayloffe my silke Gowne to my brother Eltonhead my best Furd Coate to Will. Aylett. The rest of my wearing Apparrell to Thomas Gaell John and Robert Aylett This will I have . . . sealed with mine owne hand the twenty Eighth of Januarie, 1654. present the witnesses whose names are subscribed: . . . Benjamin Ayloffe Will. Ayloffe Jo. Sanders." (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 236 Aylett.)

sion that was entrusted to him, for Aylett was buried on March 20,1 not "in the Church yard," but in a vault beneath the tower of the little parish church of Great Braxted. In the wall above, under the west window, a memorial in stone was placed by his youngest nephew, John Aylett, then a member of the Middle Temple.2 The inscription, now becoming illegible in places, reads:

PMS3

Quam a posteris merito exigit Robertus Aylettus LLDr Vir fidei Catho-

licae Pietatis priscae Litteraturae elegantioris nec a poetica alienae

Charitatis in pauperes Beneficentiae in agnatos promptae copiosaeque Conjugio triplici (quamvis improli) beatus multis praeclaris officiis tam Ecclesiasticis quam civilibus Functus insignem corporis proceritatem bonis et moribus aequavit

Vitam suavissima severitate per omnia Temperavit Ecclesiae Angliae (ad Dei Verbum olim restitutae) Filius generosus constansque Bellis (hanc)

Civilibus afflictam non sine horrore (jam senex) vidit xtq [luxitque]

Mortalitatis exuvias (mox per Christum reparandas) Anno Domini 1654 4 Aetatis 73 die Martis 15 placide positas sub hoc marmore condendas Ioanni Ayletto commisit Qui spectatessimi Avunculi mandata suamque fidem gratus lubensque praestitit anno 1656 Addito (ex voto) symbolo

Ista suprema dies sit mihi prima quies 5

When these biographical data and the poetry are fitted together, there emerges a fairly clear and consistent personality. Robert Aylett was a representative product of the rural gentility of his day, in whom the homely and substantial virtues upon which England's greatness has been built were inbred. A conservative in politics and religion, and deeply concerned for the welfare of his country and his church, he nevertheless performed his official duties conscientiously, even when they did not harmonize with his private beliefs.

Throughout life he found in poetry an escape from his onerous pro-

" "Burialls Register" of Great Braxted.

- ² Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, ed. C. T. Martin (London, 1904), III, 1024, 1048.
 - 3 Piae memoriae sacrum.

4 Old Style.

5 I am indebted to the Rev. Russell Brown, of Great Braxted, for a transcription of this memorial, and to the Rev. C. H. B. Knight, of Feering vicarage, for the loan of a photograph of it.

fessional tasks, and looked to his verse for a lasting monument. A Horatian in poetic theory, believing that it is the office of the poet to present truth in an attractive garb, in particular he was a conscious disciple of Du Bartas, convinced that the sacred epic and reflective moral verse offer the subject matter most worthy of a poet. Yet so greatly did he admire the genius of Spenser, that he accepted the Spenserian stanza as the supreme triumph of English prosody, wove many of Spenser's lines, and even stanzas, into the texture of his verse, and enriched his poetic vocabulary with Spenser's musical diction. As a poet, however, he must be accorded a rather lowly place, for his verse lacks the essential qualities of passion and high imagination. But he is not a man to be forgotten.

Benjamin Franklin's Memoirs

By MAX FARRAND

TEW, if any, documents of modern times have been subjected to such gross and persistent misrepresentation as has fallen to the lot of Benjamin Franklin's autobiography. This has been due primarily to the different times of its composition and to the unparalleled confusion attending its publication. Franklin wrote his "memoirs," as he always referred to them, at four distinct periods. There was an interval of thirteen years between the first and second parts, then a lapse of four years more before the third part was begun; the last part was added just before he died. After his death, the publication of the autobiography was eagerly awaited, as its existence was widely known, but for nearly thirty years the reading public had to content itself with French translations of the first and second parts, which were again translated from the French into other languages, and even retranslated into English. When the authorized English publication finally appeared in 1818, it was not taken from the original manuscript but from a copy, as was the preceding French version of the first part. The copy, furthermore, did not include the fourth and last part, which also first reached the public in a French translation in 1828.

It seems incredible that three of the four parts of this great American classic should have been published first in French translations; yet such is the case, and the complete autobiography was not printed in English from the original manuscript until 1868, nearly eighty years

after Franklin's death.

Under such conditions, misunderstandings were inevitable and misstatements resulted which have grown in number and importance by the simple process of accretion in the course of endless repetition, for the autobiography is one of the most widely read books in the English language and its popularity has led to its publication in literally hundreds of editions. The whole subject was so bewildering that, whenever this study was interrupted for even a few weeks, as has happened many times, it was necessary to spend hours and sometimes days in tracing the pattern out again among the tangled threads. As often

happens with complicated problems, when the explanation finally was found it seemed so simple that one wonders whether it can be correct,

and if so why it was not discovered long ago.

The Huntington Library possesses the original manuscript. All four parts were written on folio leaves of approximately uniform size. Many years later these were mounted on guards and bound in boards, with a red-leather back. The binding is evidently of French workmanship — an inference that is confirmed by the spelling of "Francklin" in the title on the back of the cover. The mere transcription of the text is not an easy task, because of numerous corrections and interlineations, but that difficulty is insignificant in comparison with the un-

certainty as to what Franklin wished the final wording to be.

Anyone may read the autobiography and enjoy it, but a knowledge of the circumstances surrounding each stage of its composition is essential to appreciate the different and distinct qualities of the several parts. If one wishes, also, to understand how there can be any doubt of Franklin's intention as to the wording of the text, it is necessary to comprehend the incredible confusion attending its publication. The history of the autobiography and its publication has nowhere been told with anything approaching accuracy and completeness, and there seems to be no alternative to retelling the whole story, even though this procedure necessitates the repetition of many facts well known. The account which follows would not have been possible without the expert assistance of various members of the Huntington Library staff, and the cordial co-operation of everyone to whom appeal has been made for information or advice.

Benjamin Franklin in 1771, at the age of sixty-five, was in England. It was the seventh year of his second mission as the agent of Pennsylvania. He had risen by his own efforts from "poverty and obscurity" to be a person of consequence in England, and in Europe as well as in America. His industry, his shrewdness, and his thrift — for the practice of which virtue he gave due credit to "Debby," his wife — had brought him a sufficient competence to permit him at the age of fortytwo, by taking a partner, to retire from active participation in the printing shop which was the foundation of his fortune.

He had achieved an enviable reputation in Philadelphia, not alone

for his commercial success, but even more for his public-spirited citizenship. He was noted for the many projects he originated or sponsored for the benefit of the community. Indeed, the list of his activities and interests reads like a catalogue of civic virtues or a manual of civic duties. It might be observed, also, that Franklin's reputation was not diminished by his deliberate policy of publicity.

At the time of his retirement, he had been clerk of the Assembly for a dozen years, and remained in that capacity for three years longer, when he was elected a member of the Assembly for Philadelphia and continued to be re-elected for many years, although he was in England

most of the time.

From Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, he stepped onto the larger stage of intercolonial and of imperial politics. He was one of the four commissioners from Pennsylvania in 1754 to the Albany Congress, where he presented a plan of union which became famous as the fore-runner of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. In the unfortunate Braddock campaign, from which much was expected, it was Franklin who induced the Pennsylvania farmers to come forward and supply the means of transportation when the commanding general was unable to obtain the necessary facilities in Virginia.

After Braddock's defeat, Franklin was an aggressive leader in the preparations for defense of the frontiers against the Indians and the French. Such measures are expensive. The Pennsylvania Assembly was willing to do its part, and voted liberal sums, but proposed taxing all estates, real and personal, "those of the proprietors not excepted." The Governor insisted that the clause should read, the estates "of the proprietors only excepted." It was the old, old quarrel between the representatives of the people and imposed authority. In 1757, when the dispute between the Assembly and the Governor became acute, Franklin was chosen by his Pennsylvania associates to present their case in London.

Franklin had retired from active business for the purpose of devoting himself to scientific study, but, when the extent and variety of the demands upon him for public service are realized, it is evident little time was left for his favorite pursuits. In spite of the interruptions, however, and in addition to many useful and interesting inventions, Franklin had been able to carry on the experiments in electricity that

have made his name respected in the scientific world even to the present day. In 1753 the Royal Society of London awarded him the Copley medal and Harvard and Yale conferred upon him the honorary degree of M.A. William and Mary followed with the same degree in 1756. On the eve of his departure for England he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and was exempted from the usual initiation fee and annual dues. In 1759 he was made a Doctor of Laws by the University of St. Andrews, and in 1762 came his greatest academic distinction, in the form of the honorary degree of D.C.L. from Oxford.

Franklin could not have felt otherwise than pleased with the honors and attention showered upon him, but he evidently took a greater and deeper satisfaction in the acquaintances he made and the associations he enjoyed. He had a capacity, amounting to genius, for making friends, and that quality was displayed to the greatest advantage at

this period of his career.

Those were happy years for him. He remarked to one of his friends that he had spent in Scotland "six weeks of the *densest* happiness I have ever met with in any part of my life." He even thought of making England his permanent home. He returned to America, however, in 1762, and, though "Debby" was not favorably disposed toward moving to England, apparently Franklin himself was not averse to being sent again to London before two years had passed — that is, at the

end of 1764.

In the years that followed, Franklin renewed old acquaintances and steadily enlarged the circle of his friends. With his predilection for science, he perhaps saw more of the group centering in the Royal Society than others, but the "many-sided Franklin" was on intimate terms with persons of all ranks and of every calling. Among them was Richard Price, a nonconformist clergyman, editor, and writer, Franklin's junior by some twenty years, who was later invited by Congress to make his home in America. He is selected for particular mention, however, not on account of his ability and political sympathies, but because of his later connection with the autobiography. Another was the Earl of Shelburne, a patron of literature and the arts, who held in high regard and frequently entertained the particular group with which Franklin associated. The third to be named is Benjamin Vaughan, who was a young man in his teens when Franklin went to England on

his second mission. His father, on coming from Jamaica in 1756, had joined Dr. Price's congregation, and the boy seems soon to have attracted the attention of the clergyman and of many others by his almost precocious ability and by what must have been great personal charm. He was later employed by Lord Shelburne "in confidential political business and as private secretary." Through one or another of these connections young Vaughan met Franklin, and a peculiarly warm friendship grew up between the two, in spite of the difference in

their ages.

Franklin's second mission to London had for its main purpose the presentation of a petition to the crown for the assumption of the government of Pennsylvania as a royal province. This purpose was, however, submerged in the agitation and excitement over the Stamp Act, concerning which the Assembly had instructed its agent to convey to the ministry in England a sense of its strong opposition. The history of the Stamp Act certainly does not need to be repeated, but one incident might be referred to as illustrating Franklin's eminence and because it directly affected his fortunes. His examination before the House of Commons in committee of the whole, February 3-13, 1766, was a "brilliantly stage-managed affair," by which Franklin greatly enhanced his reputation for quickness of wit. Edmund Burke said that the scene reminded him of a master examined by a parcel of schoolboys. The repeal of the Stamp Act, two weeks later, was followed by demonstrations in America that might lead one to think that Franklin was to be given the entire credit.

Soon afterward, Franklin suggested coming, and apparently wished to come, back to Philadelphia, but the Assembly insisted upon his remaining in London. In 1768 Georgia paid him the honor and the compliment of making him its colonial agent; New Jersey followed suit in 1769; and Massachusetts in 1770, not so very long after the Boston Massacre. Franklin might well have been regarded, and have re-

garded himself, as the general agent of the American colonies.

Benjamin Franklin was then a person of importance in his world, and no one knew it better than Franklin himself. He was not disagreeably conceited — far from it. One seldom meets a character so capable of dispassionate estimation of his own qualities. He was not conceited; he was pleasantly, even delightfully, vain. Franklin appreciated that,

too, for in the very beginning of his autobiography he admits that his writing will

a good deal gratify my own Vanity.... Most People dislike Vanity in others... but I give it fair Quarter wherever I meet with it, being persuaded that it is often productive of Good to the Possessor... And therefore... it would not be quite absurd if a Man were to thank God for his Vanity among the other Comforts of Life.

So it was in that humor, in 1771, at the age of sixty-five, that he began to write for his son William Franklin the memoirs that have since become so famous. He was spending some two weeks during the months of July and August with his good friend Jonathan Shipley, the Bishop of St. Asaph, at Twyford, in Hampshire. The visit was evidently a memorable one, for the Shipley family ever afterward affectionately referred to the room he occupied as "Franklin's room."

In preparation for the writing of his reminiscences, Franklin followed a practice he later recommended to Benjamin Vaughan: "that, before you sit down to write on any subject, you would spend some days in considering it, putting down at the same time, in short hints, every thought which occurs to you as proper to make a part of your intended piece." He carefully made out a list of topics to be taken up, which, in the copies now extant, covers three pages, seven by ten inches, of continuous writing. The memoirs themselves were written

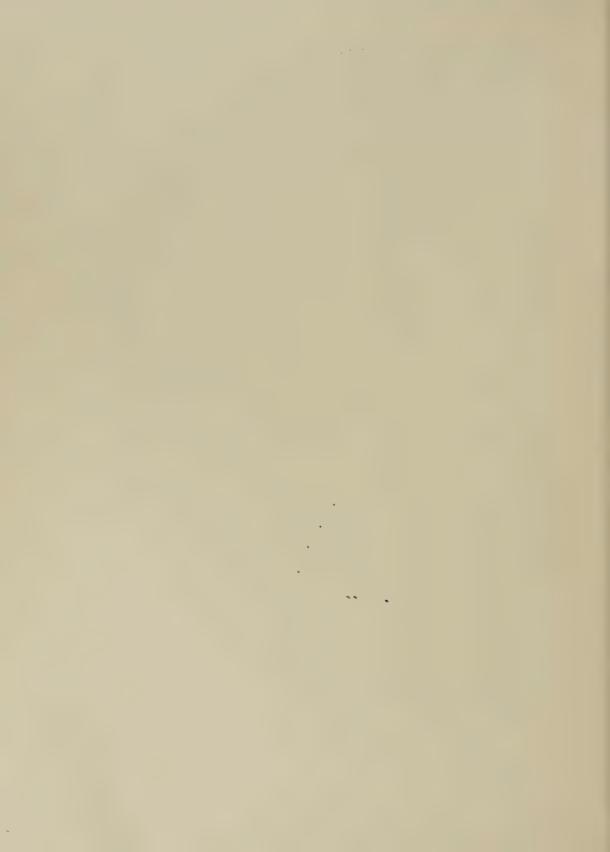
¹ Franklin had made a visit at Twyford a little before this, and the earlier date is given by some of his biographers for the beginning of the autobiography. At the top of the manuscript, "1770" was first written but later was changed to "1771." The figures are in Franklin's hand, but were not placed on the manuscript at the time of writing this part of the autobiography; they were added at some later time. There can be no question, however, as to the correct date, for early in the memoirs Franklin refers to an incident as "lately" happening, and the incident is described in a letter to his cousin Samuel Franklin, dated July 12, 1771, as occurring "yesterday."

Franklin also wrote in the first paragraph of his memoirs that he was "expecting a Weeks uninterrupted Leisure," which was later revised to "a few Weeks uninterrupted Leisure." Although he wrote to his wife immediately after his return to London, "I spent three Weeks in Hampshire at my Friend the Bishop of St. Asaph's," he could not have been there much more than a fortnight. On July 25 he wrote from London, "I now propose to set out on Tuesday next." In 1771 "Tuesday next" would have been July 30. Twyford was approximately sixty-five miles from London, which would have necessitated at least a day in travel each way. On August 14 Franklin was writing again from London.

² Nov. 2, 1789. (A. H. Smyth, The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, X, 51.)

o other expected to go blower Day, This heing Saturday. Therewer walking in the Evening by the Steet the River a Boat came by the second sound senter En water And offer For took me in, and there was no wind, tired with my food Travelling, I ample the travelland on The market and was a Constant we row of all the Way, in the I I covered have had me stay at a flow and about allidright not that Term & follow my Burings, having yet from the fety, some of the the State are being opnorand Company were confident we must of the Stock meets any to begin have passed it, and world row no no many Lospitalle, game me a Dinner of Or thek farther, the others knew not where with great good will, comey tray only of a Not y Ala in return And I that my self fry I like Shar we were; so we put to the Thore, got into a freek, landed near an Day Sould come o ob Jene with the Rail of which . The Night being cold, in October, hile Maring. Then one of the Compamy knew ot he fooper's freek a little above Philadelphia which! we arrived about 8, a (lock, on " Less or form as we got out of the breck and the Sunday morning, and landed at the Market frees When &. I then beth more particular in the more particular in the more particular in the state of my first lutry into that lity, that you in your Mind compase such unlikely Beginning with theatique Shave vince made there I was in my working Dreft, my best Clasting being to come round by Sea. I was dirty by bumbling about from my Journey; my Porkets were shifted out with Shorts & Stockings; I know no Soul nor water to took for Lodging with Again, alward filled. Travelling, whole Stock of fash worrested of a Dutik Dollar and about a The in Copper. The latter of repited on of the Bratmain baking for my Cafage who would al fint rafes ? it on Aut

A PAGE OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT Height reduced from 13 to $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches



on larger-sized sheets, approximately thirteen inches by eight, and were always inscribed in the same fashion — that is, in a long column on the outer half of the page or on the right-hand half, leaving the

other half as a wide margin for additions and corrections.

When he had written a little more than eighty-six pages in this way, he stopped. From the outline he had prepared, we know that he was not a third of the way through his undertaking—in fact, the story had only come down to 1730; he had not reached the point of his great successes—but all that was written was evidently just what it purported to be, a story for his son and immediate family and not for the general public. It is Franklin at his very best, with the single exception that there were many lapses in style and some obscure sentences. The imperfections are not surprising, for he must have written over 2,000 words a day—an amount that would make many authors envious, especially when it is remembered that he was on a visit to friends—and there could not have been much time for revision and polishing.

This is Part I of the memoirs. Franklin did not give headings to the different instalments of the autobiography. The designation of the several parts as I, II, III, and IV is here used solely for purposes

of brevity and clearness.

We are concerned with the author's subsequent activities only as they may have affected the writing of the story of his life. He sailed for America on March 21, 1775, and arrived in Philadelphia on May 5, after an absence of over ten years. The very next day, he was appointed by the Pennsylvania Assembly as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, which was to meet in Philadelphia four days later. From that moment, he was absorbed in the public service, and the chances are all against his having done anything with his autobiography, if, indeed, he even thought of it.

In 1776, within three months after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, Congress decided to send a commission to France. On September 26 Franklin was unanimously chosen as one of three for this service. He is said, on that occasion, to have turned to Dr. Benjamin Rush with the remark, "I am old and good for nothing; ... I am but a fag end, and you may have me for what you please."

I James Parton, Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1864), II, 166.

Mrs. Franklin had died just before he left England. There seemed to be little to keep him at home, and soon thereafter he sailed for France. His incredible reception by the French and his astounding popularity, when he was the idol of Paris and crowds blocked the streets to see him, are too well known to bear recounting. Franklin's success and prominence, however, should be kept in mind because, both directly and indirectly, they affected the continuation of the memoirs. It will be sufficient to recall the often quoted sentences from John Adams:¹

His reputation was more universal than that of Leibnitz or Newton, Frederick or Voltaire, and his character more beloved and esteemed than any or all of them. . . . His name was familiar to government and people, to kings, courtiers, nobility, clergy, and philosophers, as well as plebeians, to such a degree that there was scarcely a peasant or a citizen, a valet de chambre, coachman or footman, a lady's chambermaid or a scullion in a kitchen, who was not familiar with it, and who did not consider him as a friend to human kind. . . . If a collection could be made of all the Gazettes of Europe for the latter half of the eighteenth century, a greater number of panegyrical paragraphs upon "le grand Franklin" would appear, it is believed, than upon any other man that ever lived.

Nothing was heard of Part I for over ten years after it was written. It was doubtless one of many pieces of writing laid aside to be finished "at a more convenient season." When one remembers the stress and excitement of the years preceding American independence and of the war that followed, it is not surprising that there is no mention of the autobiography in any of Franklin's voluminous correspondence.

Toward the close of the year 1782, or early in 1783, Franklin, who was living at Passy, one of the small villages then surrounding Paris, received a letter from Abel James, of Philadelphia, saying:

Some time since there fell into my hands, to my great joy, about twenty-three sheets 2 in thy own handwriting, containing an account of the parent-

Works of John Adams, ed. C. F. Adams (Boston, 1856), I, 660-61.

² The "twenty-three sheets" were so numbered by Franklin at the time of writing. Each sheet was folded into two leaves, or four pages. The page numbering was of a subsequent date; and, to forestall the objection of the mathematically minded who may remember that Part I consisted of 87 pages, it is here recorded that two of the numbered sheets consist of two pages each, and the last page is blank.

age and life of thyself, directed to thy son, ending in the year 1730, with which there were notes, likewise in thy writing; a copy of which I inclose, in hopes it may be a means, if thou continued it up to a later period, that the first and latter part may be put together.

Before Franklin sailed for France, he intrusted to Joseph Galloway a chest of papers, which was taken to the latter's country seat, Trevose, a few miles out of Philadelphia. Galloway soon afterward went over to the British side, and, during the war, the house was despoiled by soldiers and the chest was broken open. Richard Bache, Franklin's son-in-law, heard of this; he went to Trevose and, after gathering up as many of the papers as he could find, he removed the chest to his own house. Sarah Bache wrote to her father two months later, October 22, 1778: "the lid was broken open and some few taken off the top. Mr. B. collected those about the floor, had it nailed up, and they are all safe here." "

When the chest was committed to Galloway, it contained the drafts of Franklin's letters for twenty years, including the whole period of his residence in England, and the memoirs were assumed to have been among these papers. It has long been believed, however, that there were other important papers, in addition to those in the chest, and evidence recently brought to light points to a different series of adventures from the commonly accepted version of what

happened to the autobiography.

Abel James and Henry Drinker constituted the firm of James & Drinker, well-known and highly respected Quaker merchants in Philadelphia. After Joseph Galloway became openly loyalist, and left Philadelphia, at the time of the British evacuation in 1778, Mrs. Galloway remained in the city and endeavored to keep their property from confiscation. She died early in February, 1782. Abel James and Henry Drinker are among the nine "Friends" listed in the record of her will, and James is named as one of the two executors. A memorandum from "J. S." to William Duane, in the Mason-Franklin Collection, Yale University Library, undated but probably written after 1800, states that Franklin's memoirs came into the possession of Abel James as executor of Mrs. Galloway's estate. This is a

Letters to Benjamin Franklin from His Family and Friends (New York, 1859), p. 87.

reasonable explanation, whereas it is inconceivable that Richard or Sarah Bache would have let such a valuable document pass out of their hands.

Attention should be directed to the phrase, in the letter of Abel James to Franklin, "a copy of which I inclose." This referred only to the notes or list of topics Franklin had made when he started to write his memoirs. Almost every writer has assumed that "copy" referred to the whole of Part I of the autobiography, in spite of Franklin's explicit declaration that he had no copy at Passy of what he had previously written. The set of notes that Franklin subsequently used, as shown by notations in his own hand, is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. It was evidently made in the offices of James & Drinker: the handwriting is similar to that of some of the clerical records of the firm, in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and bears a striking resemblance to the writing of Henry Drinker.

When Franklin received the letter from Abel James, he passed it on to Benjamin Vaughan, with a request for his opinion. The intimate relations between these two men were evidently well known, for the Dictionary of National Biography records that Vaughan had been sent to Paris by Lord Shelburne, in 1782, "to give private assurances to Franklin." The same source later adds: "In September of that year, he took an active though unofficial part in the negotiations for peace, at the secret request of Shelburne, who employed him on account of his intimate friendship with Franklin." Some years before this, Vaughan was preparing with much care an edition of Franklin's writings to be published in England. In 1779 he wrote to Franklin regarding the work, and Albert H. Smyth comments upon the letter:

It was in this spirit of reverence and affection that Vaughan approached and completed his task of discovering and preserving the stray papers of his venerable friend.

Franklin had developed at Passy another of his warm friendships, with M. Louis Guillaume le Veillard, gentilhomme ordinaire du roi and mayor of Passy. He later referred to le Veillard as having joined

¹ Op. cit., I, 22.

with Abel James, Vaughan, and others in urging him to continue his memoirs. But even with the conclusion of peace it was not until 1784 that Franklin again took up the autobiography. When he resumed writing he inserted Vaughan's reply along with James's letter. They make a disconcerting break in the flow of the narrative, but evidently were put in to justify the resumption of the story and perhaps to emphasize the change in the character of the memoirs. The letters are prefaced by a note that the first part of the account of his life was written for the family and what follows is "intended for the public." And what a difference there is! Franklin was now over seventy-eight years old. He was not merely a man of consequence; he was one of the great figures of the world. But, even in his greatness, he never forgot his lifelong passion for the improvement of others as well as of himself. Benjamin Vaughan, in the letter incorporated in the autobiography, encouraged Franklin in a direction that was scarcely needed:

But these, sir, are small reasons, in my opinion, compared with the chance which your life will give for the forming of future great men; . . . your biography will not merely teach self-education, but the education of a wise man; . . . Take then, my dear sir, this work most speedily into hand: shew yourself good as you are good; temperate as you are temperate; [etc., etc.] . . . do not stop at those who speak the English tongue, but . . . think of bettering the whole race of men.

Accordingly, Franklin was no longer writing the simple annals of his life, for the benefit of his son: he was consciously preaching virtue, as exemplified in his own practices and experience; he was writing to instruct youth. In his correspondence, especially after 1760, one finds frequent reference to a plan of his for a "little work for the benefit of Youth to be called *The Art of Virtue*." Franklin specifically mentions the project in this part of the autobiography, and one wonders if he did not infuse into his early memories some of his later and more carefully developed thoughts upon the "Art of Virtue." If so, it is not to be regretted that he wrote only a few pages at this time. There were seventeen in all.

Part II, then, contains about one-fifth as much as Part I.

Franklin returned to America in the summer of 1785. On the eve

of sailing from Southampton, July 26, he wrote to a friend: "I purpose, on my voyage, to write the remaining notes of my life, which you desire." Instead, he wrote three of his most extensive and useful essays: one on navigation, another on smoky chimneys, and the third

a description of his smoke-consuming stove.

Sixteen months later, November 25, 1786, he declared in a letter to another friend: "And having been persuaded . . . that such a Life, written by myself, may be useful to the rising Generation, I have made some Progress in it, and hope to finish it this Winter." The assertion that "I have made some Progress in it" should be noticed, for there is no instalment in the manuscript to correspond. Upon his arrival in America he had been drawn as usual into public business. To mention only two of the most conspicuous services: he was promptly elected, and later re-elected, president of his state, and he was chosen as a delegate to the Federal Convention of 1787. Le Veillard was continually urging him "to finish the Memoirs." Franklin replied, on April 22, 1788, that his third year as president of Pennsylvania would expire in October, when he was planning to retire to his grandson's estate in New Jersey. He added:

But considering now the little remnant of life I have left, the accidents that may happen between this and October, and your earnest desire, I have come to the resolution to proceed in that work tomorrow, and continue it daily till finished, which, if my health permits, may be in the course of the ensuing summer.³

Franklin had long been troubled with gout, but for several years he had been suffering from a more serious and painful malady—stone in the bladder. Riding and driving caused him such great discomfort that, on leaving Paris, one of the royal litters, carried by Spanish mules, had been placed at his disposal. In Philadelphia he even made use of a sedan chair at times. He has been quoted as having said that, during the last two years of his life, he had not had two months, in all, of freedom from pain. In December of 1787 he fell down the steps leading to his garden. He was badly bruised, his right

¹ Smyth, op. cit., IX, 371.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 550-51. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 645.

wrist sprained, and the shock was followed by a severe attack of the stone. Not long after this he began to put his house in order for the end which he saw inevitably approaching. He made his will, which bears the date of July 17, 1788.

When the continuation of the autobiography was taken up, Franklin made a note in the margin of the manuscript: "I am now about

to write at home, August, 1788."

The third instalment of his memoirs, then, was not commenced until after he had made his last will and testament. He was well on in his eighty-third year and was suffering grievously—to such an extent that he was forced at times to the use of opium, which doubtless acounts for the shakiness of his handwriting at several

places in the manuscript.

Franklin was apparently engaged for several months in writing this part. He had deluded himself with the idea that he could make rapid progress when the papers were at hand to refresh his memory. He records his disappointment that so many had been lost during the war. He did the best he could, however, but he was an old man and his story shows the effects of age. One misses, particularly, the spontaneity and the zest with which Franklin had commenced his memoirs. At Twyford he was writing almost gleefully, reliving his youth. In Philadelphia he was making a forced effort; only at times could he forget himself in the interest of the story he was telling.

Part III spreads over 117 pages and contains somewhat more than Part I. As autobiography, the third part is better than the second

but not nearly so good as the first.

When Abel James wrote to Franklin in Paris, urging him to complete the story of his life, it will be remembered that he inclosed only a copy of the notes or list of topics. Upon Franklin's return to Philadelphia, in 1785, the original of Part I was restored to him. He probably had not seen it since it was written at Twyford — certainly not for ten years. He naturally reread it, and, as was also natural, he made a good many changes. There were some bits of additional information, but most of the changes were in the nature of improvements in style, largely for the purpose of simplifying and clarifying sentences or passages. A few of the changes, one regrets. When Franklin stated in 1786, in the letter quoted, that he had "made

some Progress" in the writing of his life, this revision of the earlier

work may well have been what he had in mind.

Franklin knew that his life was nearly over and that he would never finish his memoirs. Accordingly, in 1789, he had his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, make two "fair copies" of so much as had then been written. One was sent to Benjamin Vaughan, with a request that it be shown to Dr. Price, and the other to le Veillard, to be shown to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld d'Enville. The two copies may have been identical. Franklin had devised a copying machine which was the admiration of many visitors, and there is a single reference — by Sir Samuel Romilly in his *Diary*, under date of September 7, 1802 — to one of the copies "which Dr. Franklin took with a machine for copying letters." The later fate of the autobiography is so closely bound up with these copies that a careful

explanation must be given.

Benjamin Franklin, to a greater extent than any other prominent person, had long followed the practice of making copies of interesting or important documents, sometimes confidential in their nature, to send to his friends. It was part of his policy or program of publicity. To send such a copy was a marked attention, and if the friend, as frequently happened, showed it to others or allowed it to be printed, Franklin could express surprise, pleasure, or regret, as the circumstances demanded. Sometimes these copies embodied variations that were more than the slips of a copyist, and are to be regarded as intentional. For example, Franklin submitted to the Continental Congress in 1775 a plan of union that was a development from his Albany Plan and the basis of the later Articles of Confederation. Provision was made in the Articles of Confederation for the possible subsequent admission of Canada into the Union. The Franklin draft provided, also, for the admission of Ireland and the West India Islands. When copies of this plan reached England — by what channels we can only conjecture - and became public in 1776 through printing in the Scots Magazine and the Annual Register, Ireland and the West India Islands were tactfully omitted.

The two fair copies of Parts I, II, and III of the memoirs were made by young Bache in accord with this practice. But when these copies were sent to Vaughan and le Veillard in November, 1789,

the only purpose was to obtain the advice and criticism of his friends, for they were strictly enjoined not to "suffer any Copy to be taken of them, or of any Part of them, on any Account whatever." The original manuscript, with its many corrections, was interlined, confused, and in places difficult to read. At some stage in the copying, further changes were made. This statement is positive, for, although neither of these copies is now to be found, the evidence in support of it seems to be convincing. A single illustration will show the character of such changes. Franklin is noted for the clarity and simplicity of his style, yet he was capable of writing, in a first attempt, an awkward sentence of eighty words, with no punctuation except for commas. It is usually printed from the original as follows:

Having emerged from the poverty and obscurity in which I was born and bred to a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world, and having gone so far through life with a considerable share of felicity, the conducing means I made use of, which, with the blessing of God, so well succeeded, my posterity may like to know, as they may find some of them suitable to their own situations, and therefore fit to be imitated.

The revised form of that passage reads:

From the poverty and obscurity in which I was born, and in which I passed my earliest years, I have raised myself to a state of affluence and some degree of celebrity in the world. As constant good fortune has accompanied me even to an advanced period of life, my posterity will perhaps be desirous of learning the means which I employed, and which, thanks to Providence, so well succeeded with me. They may also deem them fit to be imitated, should any of them find themselves in similar circumstances.

The latter version is, in most respects, a decided improvement and, in general, is characteristic of Franklin.

Changes were embodied in the fair copies. So much can be stated with reasonable assurance. To what extent they were made or ap-

proved by Franklin will probably never be known.

Sometime before his death Franklin added seven and one-half pages to his memoirs. This is Part IV, and for present purposes its chief significance is owing to the fact that it was not included in the copies sent to Vaughan and le Veillard.

Benjamin Franklin died April 17, 1790. His grandson, William Temple Franklin, was made his literary executor, and five weeks later (May 22, 1790) he wrote to le Veillard a rather selfish and self-centered letter, from which the following passage is taken:

J'ai cru devoir profiter de cette occasion pour vous apprendre que mon ayeul, entre d'autres legs, m'a laissé toutes ses papiers et manuscrits, avec la permission d'en tirer tout le profit qui sera en mon pouvoir. En conséquence, je vous prie très instament, mon cher ami, de ne pas montrer à qui que ce soit, cette partie de sa vie qu'il vous a envoyée il y à quelque tems, attendu que quelqu'un pourrait en tirer copie, et la publier, ce qui nuirait infiniment à la publication que je compte faire, aussitôt qu'il sera possible, de sa vie entière, et de ses autres ouvrages. Comme j'ai l'original ici de la partie que vous avez, il ne sera pas nécessaire de me l'envoyer, mais je vous prie toutefois de la mettre sous envellope, bien cachetée, et à mon addresse, pour qu'en cas d'accident, elle ne passe pas en d'autres mains. Si, cependant, elle est nécessaire pour assister celui qui doit faire son éloge à l'Académie, vous pouvez la prêter pour cela, avec stipulation qu'on n'en prendra pas copie, et d'autres précautions qui vous paraîtront nécessaires.¹

A similar communication was probably sent to Vaughan, but we have no record of it. The letter clearly shows that Temple Franklin regarded the copies as his property. The same attitude is reflected in Benjamin Franklin's letters to his two friends, when the fair copies were sent to them, and may account for his not having kept one of the copies for himself, especially if he did not fully appreciate the extent of the changes young Bache had embodied in them.

From the correspondence available, it is evident that Temple Franklin expected a considerable financial return from the publication of his grandfather's writings, that he had in contemplation a fairly extensive edition, and that he planned to bring out simultaneously a French translation. Le Veillard was to make the translation of the autobiography, and Temple Franklin was trying to find a suitable person to translate the rest of the works, which it was supposed might run to six volumes or more.

Early in 1791 a French translation of Part I was published by

¹ Copied exactly from John Bigelow, Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 378-79.

Buisson in Paris. The translation shows evidence of having been made from a transcription. There are several mistakes in the spelling of names, dates are omitted or wrongly given, and, curiously enough, it breaks off rather abruptly fifteen or twenty lines from the end. The source of this publication has never been ascertained, but the work plays such an important part in subsequent events that all the information we have regarding it must be given. The publisher, as if to forestall any questions as to its genuineness, added a note to the Préface, stating that he had a copy of the original and, if the interest was sufficient, he would publish it in English. Le Veillard immediately came out, in the Journal de Paris of March 21, 1791, with a formal statement that the publisher had not obtained the copy from him and that he was in no way responsible for it. A possible confirmation of le Veillard's disclaimer may be found in a letter to him from Buisson three months later, saying that the latter had learned of his possessing manuscripts relating to the life of Franklin and offering to purchase them. If le Veillard was not responsible, the most probable other source would seem to have been in England. Quérard, La France littéraire (1829), credits Jacques Gibelin with the translation. In Nouvelle biographie générale (1858), Guyot de Fère makes the same attribution and adds, "le manuscrit original était entre les mains de Gibelin." Gibelin might have seen the original manuscript in the possession of Temple Franklin, for the latter came to London towards the close of the year 1790; but the former certainly could not have translated it for publication with the owner's permission, inasmuch as Temple Franklin wrote to le Veillard on April 22, 1791: "I am very sorry that any part of the Life should have already appeared in France - however imperfect, which I understand it is." 2 Dr. Gibelin was on friendly terms with some of the same scientific group in England with which Franklin had associated, and it has been suggested that he might have seen and used Vaughan's fair copy. With our present knowledge, that is only an assumption of a possibility, even though Vaughan's copy was not meticulously guarded, as indicated by the statement of his brother William that the manuscript was in his possession "for a considerable

¹ Ibid., p. 51. ² Bigelow, Life of Benjamin Franklin (2d ed.; Philadelphia, 1888), I, 45.

time." ¹ Still another possibility is to be found in the memorandum by "J. S.," already referred to, in the Mason-Franklin Collection. This asserts that, without the knowledge of Abel James, the clerks in his countinghouse made a copy of Franklin's memoirs, and that the premature publication was probably rendered possible by that

copy. In the letter of April 22, 1791, from England, already quoted, Temple Franklin had added: "I have endeavored, and I hope effectually, to put a stop to a translation appearing here." Despite his efforts, two versions of Part I were printed in London in 1793. One of these, published by J. Parsons, may be dismissed with a word: it is evidently just what it purported to be - a retranslation of the French translation, although one might add that it was wretchedly done. The other appeared in the Ladies Magazine, beginning with January, 1793. This periodical was published by G. G. J. and J. Robinson, and, later in the year, the publishers brought out the autobiography in book form. The usual statement is that "Dr. Price was the editor"; but Price had died in 1791. There is reason to suppose that Vaughan then took over the editorial responsibility. Whoever the editor may have been, he was evidently on the defensive when he declared in the Preface, regarding the memoirs:

It is a little extraordinary that, . . . they should so long have been withheld from the Public. A translation of them appeared in France near two years ago, . . . There can be no sufficient reason, that what has thus been submitted to the perusal of Europe, should not be made accessible to those to whom Dr. Franklin's language is native. The history of his life, as far as page 190 of the present volume, is translated from that publication.

Shortly afterward comes the following remarkable statement:

The translator has endeavoured, as he went along, to conceive the probable manner in which Dr. Franklin expressed his ideas in his English manuscript, and he hopes to be forgiven if this enquiry shall occasionally have subjected him to the charge of a style in any respect bald or low; to imitate the admirable simplicity of the author, is no easy task.

The translation is much better than the one Parsons published; some misspellings of names and places are corrected; and — another

¹ Memoir of William Vaughan, Esq., F.R.S. (London, 1839), p. 6.

surprising feature — in a few cases the wording bears a striking resemblance to the original manuscript and not to the French translation. If use of the copy sent to Vaughan is thereby implied, this is the last intimation we have of its existence. No amount of searching in recent years has revealed any further trace.

Years passed, and William Temple Franklin failed to bring out the promised edition of his grandfather's works. Various derogatory statements upon his remissness were made and he was actually charged with suppressing the publication because of a bribe from

the British government.

Le Veillard had died on the Revolutionary scaffold in 1794. The tradition in his family was that, some years later, Temple Franklin came to Paris, and, having found great difficulty in transcribing the original manuscript, when he saw the fair copy that had been sent to le Veillard he demanded it for the printer's use. Mme le Veillard objected that the family would then lose the most cherished memento they possessed of their great and beloved friend. Temple Franklin at once offered the original manuscript in return and the exchange was made.

The substance of the story is undoubtedly correct, for it is impossible to conceive of any other way by which the original manuscript could have come into the possession of the Veillard family. The date, however, is mistaken: the exchange was made during le Veillard's lifetime. The proof is irrefutable. Le Veillard was translating the autobiography into French. The manuscript of that translation is now in the Library of Congress, having been purchased from a bookdealer in Munich in 1908. There are two hundred and six pages. The first ninety-six are in a handwriting that has not been identified; the rest are in le Veillard's own hand, and contain the translation of Part IV, which, it will be remembered, is to be found only in the original manuscript.

Le Veillard was most particular that what Franklin had written should be rendered into its exact counterpart in French. In several cases, especially where quotations of verses were involved, he would also give, in a footnote, the English words. Furthermore, there are several places in the original of Part I where Franklin did not have at hand the document to which he was referring, and he would make

a marginal note, "Here insert it," or words to that effect. These insertions were very probably later placed on loose sheets between the leaves of the original manuscript and subsequently dropped out or were removed, for they are now missing. Sometimes those additions were of considerable extent, and in one instance le Veillard copied verses that are to be found in no printed edition, except as a footnote

based on a shrewd inference by Jared Sparks.

A few of Temple Franklin's letters to le Veillard are extant. The first impression one gets from them is that they consist mostly of explanations of his failure to come to Paris at the time promised and of assurances that he hoped to come soon. There is another letter, in the Franklin collection in the Library of Congress, from L. Feuillet, under the date of which, January 29, 1792, Temple Franklin has written "Recd. 9 Feb. 92" and "Ansd. 28 Feb. 92." The writer of the letter explained why he could not continue the translation of Franklin's works that he had already started. As there is no reference to any previous correspondence, one might infer that the arrangements between Temple Franklin and Feuillet had been made in personal conference. That inference is supported by one sentence in the letter: "Vous pourrez toujours commencer, lors votre retour à Paris l'Edition que vous avez projettée."

So much is fact; the rest is conjecture. If Temple Franklin came to Paris late in 1791 or early in 1792, the exchange of the original for le Veillard's fair copy was doubtless made then. If le Veillard by that time had translated all or a part of his fair copy of the autobiography, he would have found in the original so many differences and such extensive additions that, with his meticulous care to preserve Franklin's words exactly, he would have thought it necessary to revise his translation. Feuillet, in the letter quoted, asserted that he was doing so: "Les Memoires traduite par M. Le Veillard, et qu'il revoit dans ce moment. . ." Le Veillard's manuscript is a clean copy, ready for the printer. The changes in Franklin's original manuscript were largely, and the additions solely, confined to Part I. When this part was revised, it might well have been turned over to

Not Peuillet, as printed in the List of the Benjamin Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress (1905).

a copyist, while le Veillard himself copied or went on with the translation of the rest.

One should not declare positively that this was what le Veillard did, but if he had proceeded in the way suggested the results would have been much the same as those we have. It seems to be the most plausible explanation, and is further strengthened by the fact that the first hundred pages contain some readings not unlike the revised version, whereas the latter half conforms almost exactly to the original

manuscript.

Although the fact has no bearing upon our immediate problem, except as illustrating the complications and confusion attending the whole subject, it should be recorded that in February, 1798, a French translation of Part II of the memoirs began appearing in La Décade, and was continued in successive numbers. This was taken from le Veillard's translation, which was obtained from the family. Buisson, the original publisher of Part I, brought out another edition of the work in 1798. The first part of the autobiography was freshly translated from Robinson's publication of 1793, which, it will be remembered, was an English rendering of the anonymous French translation Buisson had first printed in 1791. At the end of the second volume, Part II was reprinted from La Décade.

William Temple Franklin's edition of his grandfather's works did not appear until 1817–18, in London. We are concerned with the autobiography alone, which is in Volume I and bears the imprint of 1818, although Volume II is dated 1817. Only Parts I, II, and III were included. The editor had failed to notice, or to retain a copy of, Part IV, which was in the original he had exchanged with le Veillard. This edition became the accepted version of the autobiography and remained so for fifty years; it was copied, reprinted, and translated hundreds of times. In 1828 another French translation of the autobiography, this time of the Temple Franklin text, was published by Jules Renouard; and almost no notice was taken of the addition of a translation of Part IV from the original in the possession

of the Veillard family.

John Bigelow was American Minister to France in 1865 and 1866. Before leaving Paris he started inquiries that resulted in the location of the original manuscript of the autobiography in the hands of Paul and George de Senarmont, grandnephews of le Veillard. Through the good offices of an American friend, the manuscript was purchased and the delivery made to Bigelow before he sailed from Southampton. Bigelow was greatly excited over what he found. A comparison of the manuscript with the Temple Franklin version showed many variations, and revealed, also, the neglected Part IV, which had never been printed in English. He at once started to prepare the definitive text of the autobiography, copied carefully and exactly from the original manuscript. This was published in 1868, and immediately superseded the Temple Franklin text, which was no longer reprinted, except by an occasional publisher restrained through copyright from

using the Bigelow text.

The discarding of Temple Franklin's text was perhaps the more complete because of the disrepute attaching to him as the editor. Bigelow, in a long introduction to his edition, criticized William Temple Franklin severely for the way in which he had mutilated his grandfather's manuscript. He stated that a careful collation of the manuscript with the Temple Franklin edition showed "that more than twelve hundred separate and distinct changes had been made in the text," and gave a number of examples in parallel columns. He even revived the old scandal of Temple Franklin's having been bribed by the British government. In the next edition Bigelow was even more severe. The proof he adduced was positive, and from that time the condemnation of Temple Franklin became a part of the tradition gathered around the autobiography.

The remains of the Benjamin Franklin papers bequeathed to the grandson were ultimately rescued from the top shelf of a tailor's shop, in London, where Temple Franklin had once lodged. Henry Stevens purchased them in 1851 and, when offering them for sale in 1881 (they eventually came to the State Department in Washington and are now in the Library of Congress), he wrote an account of them, entitled Benjamin Franklin's Life and Writings, a Bibliographical Essay on the Stevens' Collection of Books and Manuscripts relating to Doctor Franklin. Stevens told of having seen, in 1851, the original of the memoirs in the possession of M. de Senarmont, and made

this surprising comment:

It is an important relic of the great American Statesman and Philosopher, but it would manifestly have been wrong under all the circumstances for Temple Franklin to print the original draft (although somewhat corrected) instead of the copy revised and corrected by the author. Franklin himself may have erred in judgment sometimes, and chosen a secondary word, but in almost every instance the last construction of the sentence and the word substituted rest on good foundations.

Stevens had something to sell, and his expression of opinion was naturally discounted as being prejudiced. Besides, Bigelow's works had much wider circulation and carried more authority than a sales pamphlet privately printed; and damning Temple Franklin continued to be a "favorite sport" of Franklin editors and biographers.

John Bach McMaster, with his unrivaled experience in gathering the substance of a matter from widely scattered sources, summed up, in his *Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters* (1887), the general opinion of Temple Franklin as an editor. After referring to Bigelow's "twelve hundred separate and distinct changes," he continued:

As to the nature of these changes little need be said. They are usually Temple Franklin's Latin words for Benjamin Franklin's Anglo-Saxon. They remind us of the language of those finished writers for the press who can never call a fire anything but a conflagration, nor a crowd anything but a vast concourse,... Thus it is that in the Temple Franklin edition "notion" has become "pretence," that "night coming on" has become "night approaching,"... But the changes did not stop here. The coarseness of the grandfather was very shocking to the grandson, and "guzzlers of beer" is made "drinkers of beer," "footed it to London" becomes "walked to London," "Keimer stared like a pig poisoned" is made to give way to "Keimer stared with astonishment."

Such changes are perhaps of small account, yet they cannot be read without a feeling of contempt for the man who made them, and a feeling of thankfulness to the man who pointed them out... Mr. Stevens maintains that Franklin wrote every one of them with his own hand. It is out of the question. It is impossible to believe that Franklin, who formed his style by a study of the Spectator, ever hesitated to use plain English. Nor would Mr. Stevens have believed it had he been owner of the Le Veillard manuscript.

In the same year, 1887, that McMaster's telling summary was printed, Bigelow published *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin*

in ten volumes. He repeated his former charges, but in the light of further information he had the grace to add:

Fully appreciating the difficulty of making any defence of William Temple's conduct which will exempt it entirely from suspicion, a careful consideration of all the evidence and the somewhat irresponsible character of the man rather leads to the conclusion that all the reasons that he assigned for his delay had their weight with him, though perhaps in different proportions. . . William Temple was doubtless justified in denying the imputation that he had sold his grandfather's papers to the British government, or that he had entertained any negotiations with them for the suppression of them.

Paul Leicester Ford printed his monumental Franklin Bibliography in 1889, and, like Stevens, he ventured to say a word in defense of Temple Franklin. His explanation of the long delay between the grandfather's death and the publication of his writings was:

The times were so unpropitious for an elaborate work, however, that a publisher could not be found, and Temple Franklin was himself diverted from the venture by a profitable agency in an American land company.

Bigelow had caught Temple Franklin red-handed in one instance. The original manuscript begins very simply, "Dear Son." The London edition opens in a grandiose way, using capital letters: "TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN, ESQ. GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY, NORTH AMERICA." Bigelow pointed out that Franklin would be very unlikely to address his son in that way. To clinch the point, he added that the "fact that the French version (Buisson, 1791) commences with 'Mon cher fils,' omitting the name and title, leaves no doubt that the titles were added by the editor in the edition of 1817."

It is to be regretted that Bigelow did not follow this lead farther, for he might have uncovered rich ore. For instance, the long, involved, and unbroken sentence of eighty words, previously quoted, with the revised version in simpler form, was one of the "horrible examples" chosen by Bigelow to show the way Temple Franklin had mutilated his grandfather's manuscript. The revised version proves to be the one followed in the French translation of 1791.

To a partial and important extent it was followed in le Veillard's translation as well.

Another modification illustrates changes that every admirer of Franklin's terse English and picturesque phrasing must regret. Franklin was relating the incident of Governor Keith's visit to him when he was a mere journeyman in Keimer's shop, and told how, at the sight of this distinguished visitor, "Keimer stared like a pig poisoned." The revised version reads, "Keimer stared with astonishment," and that wording is confirmed by the French text of 1791. As mentioned previously, le Veillard had at first a fair copy, and later the original manuscript, of the autobiography. At this point in his translation he followed the revised version, "& on peut concevoir dans quel etonnement resta Keimer"; but he added, in a footnote, "il y a dans le texte . . . and Keimer stared like a pig poisoned — Keimer résta effaré comme un Cochon empoisonné."

Similar results follow further comparison of the texts, until the proof becomes convincing. Temple Franklin did not make the great majority of the changes attributed to him. They are to be found in the French translation of 1791, which almost certainly was made from one of the only two fair copies of which we know, those sent to Vaughan and le Veillard. Henry Stevens was probably correct in his assertion that Temple Franklin used as "printer's copy" the fair

copy he had obtained from le Veillard.

Another bit of evidence is in the grandson's favor. There are at least two places in the original manuscript where marginal notations are in Temple Franklin's handwriting. When examined under a strong microscope, penciled notations in Benjamin Franklin's handwriting are found underneath; and, so far as they are now legible, it appears that Temple Franklin had simply made them permanent by copying

them exactly in ink.

Henry Stevens' opinion that the grandson was "opinionated, laborious and fussy" is doubtless correct; but Stevens also thought that he was "honest, earnest" and "proud of his charge." Temple Franklin may have changed a word or a phrase here and there, as he undoubtedly did in the salutation, "To William Franklin, Esq. Governor of New Jersey, North America." He very probably made other changes because he thought them more "genteel," but every altera-

tion of that sort is not to be charged to him. Benjamin Franklin himself had endeavored to become more genteel. Nearly nine years in France had taught him much and might well have inclined him to use words of French or Latin origin. In 1771 he wrote much more colloquially than he did in later years. References have already been made to the way in which he modified his language. Another minor but significant example is to be found in the telling of anecdotes. In the first draft of the autobiography, the form almost invariably used was "he says" or "says he"; between 1785 and 1790 he changed quite a number of these to the more conventional "he said" or "said he." Young Bache, acting on his grandfather's instructions or inferring that he had authority to do so, undoubtedly made further changes of the same sort, when he was writing out the fair copies.

In his first edition of the Autobiography, Bigelow said in the intro-

duction, which is dated December 28, 1867:

I have rigorously followed the orthography of the MS.; not that I attach much importance to this comparatively mechanical feature of the work, but because I thought it would be satisfactory to many readers to see with what defects of early education its author had successfully contended in reaching a celebrity as yet attained by none of his countrymen.

It will be observed that Franklin followed no system of orthography very strictly. He would spell *public* with a "k," and *music* without a "k." . . . *Though* is almost uniformly spelt "tho'," *job* with two "b's,"

and surf with two "f's" - extreme, "extream."

Again it is to be regretted that Bigelow did not follow the original manuscript with the same rigor in capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing, for be it remembered that Franklin was a printer and was a stickler on those very points. The best edition of Franklin's writings, at the present time, is that of Albert H. Smyth. In the Preface to Volume I, he wrote:

I have striven to make the present edition as complete and as accurate as human industry can make it. Every document here reprinted has been copied faithfully from the original; every point, capital letter, and eccentricity of spelling being loyally preserved. This accords with the requirements of modern historical research, and corresponds to Franklin's own feeling and desire. He wrote to the printer Woodfall, enclosing a con-

tribution to his paper, asking him to take care that the compositor observed "strictly the Italicking, Capitalling and Pointing."

But when Smyth came to the autobiography, he was helpless. The original manuscript was not available and he, therefore, reprinted the Bigelow text, with this footnote:

The text adopted in this edition is that of Mr. John Bigelow, and is a faithful copy of the original manuscript, differing from it only in the fact that no attention has been paid to Franklin's practice of writing nearly every noun with a capital letter.

Bigelow seems to have hypnotized his readers into a blind acceptance of the accuracy of his transcription, in spite of the fact that he was at

times woefully inaccurate through carelessness.

John Bigelow retained possession of the manuscript of the autobiography for some thirty years and then disposed of it to Dodd, Mead and Company, who in turn sold it to E. Dwight Church. In 1911 the manuscript passed, with the rest of the Church Library, into the collection Henry E. Huntington was making. Some years later, Mr. Huntington permitted fifteen to twenty libraries and individuals to have photostatic copies, reserving, however, all rights of publication to the Huntington Library. No longer was it necessary to accept anything on faith. Every statement could be tested by reference to the original.

Bigelow had charged Temple Franklin with having made "twelve hundred separate and distinct changes" in his grandfather's manuscript. One might be surprised at his patience in counting all these differences, but the explanation is a simple one. When Bigelow prepared the text of the autobiography for publication, he did not copy from the original. He took the Temple Franklin text and corrected it from the manuscript. It was an easy matter, then, to count the

number of "changes" that had been made.

In preparing printer's copy for the forthcoming Huntington Library edition of the memoirs, the Bigelow text was taken in the same way and revised from the original manuscript. The corrections num-

It is simple to prove that Bigelow did not use the English edition of 1818, but almost certainly a transcription of that text by Jared Sparks.

ber not twelve hundred but more nearly twelve thousand, and in a manuscript of less than 65,000 words that is a large proportion. Most of these, it is true, are of capitalization and punctuation, and a few are of spelling, but there are also some important differences in wording.

John Bigelow would have been horrified to learn that his own mutilations of the text of Franklin's memoirs made him a greater culprit than the grandson whom McMaster stigmatized as contemptible. Yet the responsibility must rest upon him, for either Bigelow himself or an assistant revised the Temple Franklin text from the original manuscript, with the deplorable results that have been described.

The only conclusion to be drawn from the account which has been given, is that no acceptable text of Benjamin Franklin's memoirs has ever been printed. An accurate and reliable text of such a widely read work is most desirable. The difficulty in preparing such a text arises from the perplexity as to what Franklin wished the final wording to be. It is doubtful if he himself knew. When he wrote to Vaughan, on November 2, 1789, that he was sending him one of the fair copies, and asked him to show it to Dr. Price, he made the "earnest request" that they should read it critically and advise him as to whether or not it should be published and, if so, what changes should be made, for, he added pathetically, "I am now grown so old and feeble in mind, as well as body, that I cannot place any confidence in my own judgment." Two weeks later he wrote to le Veillard in the same vein. This appeal, as well as the responses to it, referred more to the general content than to the form of presentation and may be dismissed from consideration here except as revealing an uncertainty in Franklin's own mind due to his age and the condition of his health.

It may help to clarify the situation if a summary is given of the materials needed in attempting to find a solution of such a complex problem. There is (1) the original manuscript, which is, and must remain, the most important of all the sources. Franklin is recognized as a master of terse English. His memoirs furnish the best example known of how he revised a manuscript in order to achieve simplicity and directness. The way in which a change of wording, or a shift in the order of words and clauses, clarifies the meaning, is worthy of careful

s Smyth, op. cit., X, 50.

well succeeded, my Posterity may like to know, as they may find some of them suitable to their own Situations, and therefore fit to be imitated.

That felicity, when I reflected on it, has induced me sometimes to say, that were it offered to my choice, I should have no objection to a repetition of the same life from its beginning, only asking the advantage authors have in a second adition to correct some faults of the first. So I might, besides correcting the faults, change some sinister accidents and brents of it for others more favorable, but though this were dended, I should still accept the However, offer. Since such a repetition is not to be expected, the next thing most like living one's life over again, seems to be a recollection of that life; and to make that recollection as durable as possible to putting it down in Writing.

Hereby, too, I shall indulge the Inclination so natural in old then, to be talking of themselves and their own past actions, and I shall indulge it, without being the some to others, who through respect to the might conceive themselves obliged to give me a hearing, since this may be read or not as any one pleases. And lastly, (I may as well confess it, since my Denial of it will be believed by nobody) perhaps I shall a good deal gratify my own Vanity. Indeed, I scarce ever heard or saw the introductory Words, Without Vanity I may say, &c// but some vain thing immediately followed. Most beople dis-

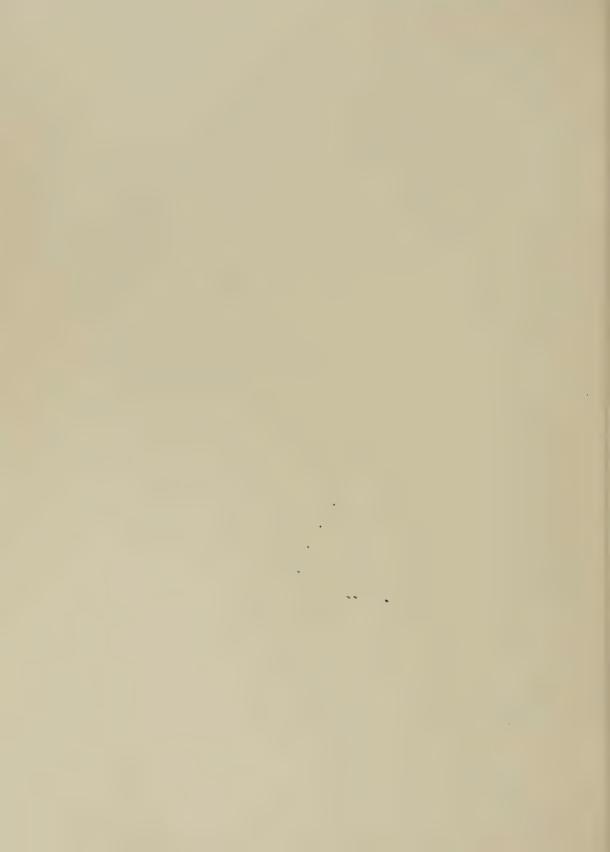
like Vanity in others/ whatever Share they have of

would I if

sthe

trouble directe

A PAGE OF THE BIGELOW TEXT CORRECTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT



study by everyone interested in a good English style. No amount of footnotes, nor any combination of typographical devices, can make the process clear. It is necessary to use the original or a photostat copy,

now available to anyone.

The fair copies embodied changes which, it must be assumed, were made with Franklin's tacit or expressed approval. If either of the two could be found today, most editors would accept it as the final draft, but both have disappeared. One of them was probably used by Franklin's grandson for printer's copy, and (2) the Temple Franklin text is, therefore, the best obtainable. Next in importance is (3) the French translation of Part I, published by Buisson in 1791, which must have been derived from a fair copy and may be used to support or refute the Temple Franklin text. Also to be considered is (4) the English translation of the Buisson version, published by Robinson in 1793, which seems to have been revised to some extent by reference to a fair copy and may therefore offer some evidence upon particular readings.

Finally, there is (5) le Veillard's translation, made at least in part from a fair copy but revised from the original manuscript. This translation must carry great weight when supporting the wording of a fair copy, for it means that le Veillard thought Franklin wished it to read in that way. Le Veillard's translation has an additional value in that it contains several items noted in the original manuscript to be included and possibly laid-in between the leaves on loose sheets, which are now missing. Most of them were not included in the fair copies, and editors felt justified in putting only in footnotes what they thought

Franklin had intended.

The edition of Benjamin Franklin's memoirs that the Huntington Library is preparing for publication will take all of these five sources into account. The original manuscript will be accurately transcribed and notes added whenever Franklin made important changes affecting the meaning. This transcript will be confronted with, or placed parallel to, the best version of a fair copy in existence — namely, the William Temple Franklin text. The French translation of 1791 will be used to show support for one or the other reading. Where the Robinson edition of 1793 and le Veillard's translation throw any light on doubtful readings or offer additional information, exact records will be supplied.

Such an edition is intended to offer all pertinent evidence, and will be for interested students. There still remains the great reading public who would be repelled by such a seeming confusion of texts. It is accordingly planned to prepare a popular edition by drafting a version that, from the evidence available, seems most probably to have been Franklin's last intention. Such a version will not be universally acceptable, for it will be affected inevitably by the personal equation — the factors of judgment and taste — but it seems to be the best obtainable under the circumstances.

The Censorship in the Case of Macklin's The Man of the World

By DOUGALD MACMILLAN

I

HE case of Charles Macklin's The Man of the World is commonly considered one of the more aggravated instances of governmental interference with the stage. Macklin's biographers, and subsequent historians of the stage and of the censorship, have stated the case as they understood it. The most elaborate account, and that on which later discussions have generally been based, is found in Kirkman's Memoirs of Macklin.¹ A letter of Macklin to a country manager, unnamed but said to be Tate Wilkinson,² in the summer of 1779, is quoted to the effect that "The Lord Chamberlain has refused to license a Comedy of mine, being seasoned too highly respecting venality." Kirkman then prints "from Mr. Macklin's Papers" a discussion of the censorship, under the title "The Lord Chamberlain's Duty," in which Macklin considers the rights of a censor, with special reference to The Man of the World, and the values and uses of censorship in general. I quote at some length:

The business of the Stage is to correct vice, and laugh at folly; and the Lord Chamberlain has a right to prohibit; but such prohibition is not to arise from caprice, or enmity, or partiality. What he prohibits must be offensive to virtue, morality, decency, or the Laws of the Land.

This piece is in support of virtue, morality, decency, and the Laws of the Land: it satirizes both public and private venality, and reprobates in-

ordinate passions and tyrannical conduct in a parent.

The Lord Chamberlain, when called upon, ought in justice to point out the passages that are offensive to Government, or to individuals, or society at large. No man, in a public trust, should exercise his authority to the injury of another, or to the privation of any public right.

To seek the truth, to separate right from wrong, to determine accord-

I James Thomas Kirkman, Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin (1799), II, 277-89.

Edward Abbot Parry, Charles Macklin ("Eminent Actors Series"; 1891), p. 179.

ing to sound judgment, equity, and justice, is the duty of a Chamberlain,

and the end of his trust.

My Copy being detained, I asked the Deputy why? or by what right he deprived me of my Copy? For some time he would not assign any reason. I told him, that I would resort to the Laws of my Country for redress; upon which he replied, that I should but expose myself, and that they kept the Copy by the usage of the Office.

I told him, that I knew the Stage before that law existed; that it could not be by custom; that it was the first time I had ever heard of an Author being deprived of his Copy; and that I should not submit to it.

I also informed the Lord Chamberlain that I had acted the Comedy in Ireland; that they were as careful there as here about any thing that affected Government; that the Lords Lieutenants, who had seen it, laughed heartily at it, and deemed the satire general, pleasant, and just.

Some little creatures in office, to make their court to Lords Lieutenants, pronounced it offensive to Government; but their Masters saw it again and again, and all the emotions they showed were laughter and applause.

[He then discusses the case of Cato as an argument against censorship.] Now, with regard to my Comedy (The Man of the World) is it not just and salutary that the subtilty, pride, insolence, cunning, and the thoroughpaced villany [sic] of a backbiting Scotchman should be ridiculed? What a wretched state the Comic Muse and the Stage would be reduced to, were the prohibition of laughing at the corruption and other vices of the age to prevail!

It would be the highest absurdity for a Lord Chamberlain to say to an author—"You must not inculcate, in any of your Plays, that corruption is to be laughed at, or petitioned against, for the one is a libel,

and the other is treason!"

Now, my play very strongly recommends the highest veneration for the Constitution of Great Britain; it inculcates the love of liberty, and hatred of oppression; it satirizes the abuse of the law; it reprobates a corrupt, tyrannical, over-reaching, fawning, booing [bowing] Scotchman, and extols the liberal, virtuous, independent, honest, conscientious conduct of his son.

Several features of Macklin's statement should be noticed. First, Macklin himself was notoriously cantankerous, and at the time that this was written was probably nearly eighty years old; he was also addicted to lawsuits. As to the retention of the copy, although the act of 1737 does not state that the Lord Chamberlain's office is to re-

tain the copy submitted with the application for license, it had certainly been the custom, ever since the act became effective, June 24, 1737, for such copies to remain in the custody of the Examiner of Plays. Macklin should have known this, as copies of at least four of his own earlier plays 'had been so presented and retained by the Examiner. That the custom applied as well to suppressed as to licensed plays is shown by the presence of other suppressed plays, as well as of *The Man of the World*, among the manuscript plays of the Examiners. Finally, the performance of the piece in another form in Dublin is entirely irrelevant, as the Theatres Act of 1737 did not apply to Ireland. As to the interpretation of the moral of the play, one must leave each reader to his own judgment.

Following Macklin's statement, as given by Kirkman, Cooke ³ remarks that, "strange to tell, he could not at first obtain a licence for it; though there was nothing seemingly objectionable in it, either as to morals or politics, except the degree of cunning and duplicity attributed to the principal character, who is a Scotchman. To meet the wishes of the Licenser, however, Macklin softened a little the asperities of his hero, and extended the piece to five acts." Cooke apparently did not know that the play as originally submitted to the

Examiner was already in five acts.

The article on *The Man of the World* in the *Biographia Dramatica*,⁴ partly written by Isaac Reed, after commenting upon the performance of the three-act version, *The True-born Scotchman*, in Dublin, proceeds:

In London, however, an official leave for its exhibition was repeatedly denied; and our audiences are indebted for the pleasure they have since derived from it, to the death of Mr. Capell, the late sub-licenser of the

¹ A Will and no will (1746), Covent Garden Theatre (1752), The Married Libertine (1761; as The School for Husbands), and The True-born Irishman (1767).

² Those covering the period 1737-1824, during which William Chetwynd and John Larpent were the Examiners of Plays, constitute the Larpent collection of dramatic manuscripts, now in the Huntington Library.

William Cooke, Memoirs of Charles Macklin (2d ed.; 1806), p. 295.

4 III (1812 ed.), 15–18. This article first appeared in the Appendix to Vol. II of the 1782 edition, p. 432. The first two sentences quoted are found in that edition and were written by Reed, the concluding anecdote being Stephen Jones's addition in the edition of 1812.

Theatres Royal. This scrupulous petty placeman had long preferred what he conceived to be the bias of a court, to the innocent gratification of the public. . . . Another anecdote, respecting this play, we shall give on good authority. The MS. of *The True-born Scotchman* had lain in the Lord Chamberlain's office near ten years, and Macklin despaired of getting it returned to him; [he was advised by friends to bring an action of trover] . . . by personal application they got the MS. restored, but with a refusal to license it under its then title, as a national reflection. Macklin, in consequence, named it *The Man of the World*.

As to this, as will be seen later, Capell probably acted upon the play in 1770, but the refusal of 1779 seems to have been entirely on the responsibility of Larpent and the Lord Chamberlain. Also, if the manuscript was returned to Macklin at all, he must have taken a copy of it, as the official copy of 1770 is still among the Examiner's plays. Moreover, the title of the play in 1770 was already "The Man of the World," before it was acted upon in the Lord Chamberlain's office.

Genest confines his remarks largely to comment upon the futility of the suppression, saying, "As Macklin's satire is general, tho' severe; no Minister or hanger on of a Minister, need say 'That was levelled

at me.'" 1

In 1891 Judge Parry's ² life of Macklin appeared. As if charging a jury, Parry summed up the evidence in the life of his subject. In connection with the suppression of *The Man of the World*, he said:

The play would have been produced before [i.e., before 1781], but for the licenser, who fancied there was too much criticism of courtiers in the text, to make it acceptable to the reigning powers; and the unpopularity of the ministry at that time, gave double edge to the satire of the piece. . . . The reasoning of this [Macklin's remarks upon the duties of the Lord Chamberlain] is sound enough, and it is very difficult nowadays to understand why anyone should have sought to keep the play off the stage. The character of Sir Pertinax is in itself repulsive, and to thin-skinned Scotchmen may have been irritating, but the vice of parties is aimed at, of types rather than individuals, and the moral of the piece is excellent.³

Some years later Mr. Fowell and Mr. Palmer commented on the case as follows:

I John Genest, Some Account of the English Stage (1832), VI, 189.
2 Op. cit.
3 Ibid., pp. 148-49.

Well, Charles Macklin's Man of the World was refused a licence by the Lord Chamberlain, and remained in the Licenser's office for ten years and was then only recovered with difficulty! The play had already been produced in Dublin in 1766 [really July 10, 1764] as The True-born Scotchman, and Macklin had spent years in carefully polishing the dialogue. But the Licenser concluded that there was too much criticism of courtiers in the text to make it acceptable to the reigning powers, and in view of the unpopularity of the Ministry of the time he prohibited its performance. [It is not stated whether the prohibition referred to is that of 1770 or 1779.] The whole incident was typical of the liberal and lofty conceptions of censorship at that time. The Censor was regarded merely as an instrument for stifling criticism of political corruption and tyranny.

Finally, Mr. Allardyce Nicoll states that *The Man of the World* was suppressed on the grounds of personal satire rather than political allusions.²

As has been noted, the facts of the suppression of *The Man of the World*, as related by the early commentators, are not to be taken without substantiating evidence; and details given below reinforce this point. Also, one must remember, in viewing the opinions of historians and critics upon this play, that the text with which they were acquainted was presumably in all, certainly in most, cases that of the play as printed, which I shall show was not quite the same thing as the text of the play that in 1770 was refused a license.

II

On August 2, 1770, in the usual course of business, The Man of the World was sent by Samuel Foote, then manager of the little theater in the Haymarket, to the Examiner of Plays, with the conventional notice of his intention to perform the play. The Lord Chamberlain's office refused to grant the license, and the play was not performed. Again, nine years later, December 4, 1779, it was submitted from Covent Garden in an altered form and accompanied by letters from the

² Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama (1927), p. 19.

¹ Frank Fowell and Frank Palmer, *Censorship in England* (1913), p. 150. In view of the verbal similarities to Parry, one suspects that this account is based upon little more evidence than is found in the preceding account.

manager and the author to the Lord Chamberlain himself — not, as was usual, to the Examiner of Plays or to the Deputy Examiner. Harris, the manager, wrote Lord Hertford as follows:

My Lord —

I have taken the Liberty of giving this opportunity to the Author of speaking for himself — for whose sake, I shall be very happy if in Your Lordship's opinion, his work [is? (MS rubbed)] now so alter'd as to be deem'd not unfit for the Stage —

I am
My Lord, with the truest respect —
Your Lordship's most Obl^d &
Obed! H^{ble} Serv!
The Harris

Sat. Decem. 4. 1779 —

Ld Hertford -

Macklin's letter runs thus:

My Lord

Your Administration, as Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, is felt & acknowledged by all who have any Interest in the Theatres to be so mild & beneficent as to excite in them a sincere Respect for your Lordship. M: Macklin therefore as Author of the Comedy called — the Man of the World — feels a deep Concern that any part of that Piece should merit the Animadversion of so lenient a Judge; — who, he is convinced, is always disposed to favour & encourage every dramatic Effort to the full Extent of his official Power, — & Your Lordship's Tenderness on this Occasion of allowing the Author an Opportunity of revising & reforming such Passages as might be thought exceptionable in the Play will ever be remembered with Gratitude.

The Author's chief End in writing the Man of the World was to ridicule & by that means to explode the reciprocal national Prejudices that equally soured & disgraced the Minds both of English & Scotch Men. M. Macklin flattered himself that the Exposing of an absurd Scotch Father's Obstinacy in national Prejudices, wou'd be such a Lesson to such kind of men as to make them less frequent in the Indulgence of those offensive, unsocial Humours. — On the other Side he fancied that the Character of an amiable

¹ Signed autograph letter, bound with the MS of the play, Huntington Library, Larpent MS 20 M 7. Macklin's letter (which follows Harris's) is also bound with the play; it is written by a copyist and signed by Macklin.

Scotch Son, who from his Manners & Principles might be justly deemed an Honour to his Country & stand a fair Example of the highest public & private Esteem, — such a Character he thought might win the Affections of Englishmen & by that, — cure or at least abate their national Prejudices against their fellow Subjects.

This, my Lord, is the true State of my Design in this Piece; — which, from it's moral End, will, I hope, stand as a Plea for any Excess of Colouring in the treating of so nice & difficult a Subject, & as an Apology to your

Lordship for troubling you with this Epistle. I am,

My Lord,

with the highest Respect,

Your Lordship's

Devoted & obliged humble Servant Charles Macklin

Tavistock Row, Covent Garden. 4 December 1779.

Lord Hertford -

Once more the license was refused. Finally, in 1781, the play, further revised, was again submitted, licensed, and performed at Covent Garden on May 10.

The most important and interesting feature of the play, the title role and the basis of the Examiner's objections, is the character of the elderly Scotch politician called in the first version Sir Hector Mack-crafty but known to contemporaries and to posterity as Sir Pertinax Macsycophant. Coming from Scotland an impecunious youth, he has made a fortune and secured a position of some political importance by a couple of prudent marriages and a course of peculation and devious dealings, accompanied always by "bowing" to persons of importance. He is an accomplished hypocrite—a pliant, humble, obsequious toady in public, a tyrant at home. He is avaricious and deceitful. Finally, from motives of self-interest and resentment, he is so partial to his own country and his countrymen that he places them above all interests except his own, with which, however, they are identified.

This gentleman has turned a younger son out of his house for differing with him in politics and expressing radical views, the most offensive of which is the opinion that the English are as good as the Scotch. The elder son has been made the heir of his mother's uncle, an Englishman "of no party," on condition that he change his name (in the first version to Montgomery, in later versions to Egerton). For this son the father has planned a parliamentary career leading into the ministry, from which he himself has been barred on account of his crude manners, his broad Scotch accent (which prevents his speaking in the House), and his lack of training and education. As a step toward the advancement of the son, a marriage has been arranged between young Montgomery (Egerton) and the only child of Lord Lumbercourt, a dissipated, impoverished peer, who receives for life the means of gratifying his sensual desires in exchange for the daughter

and the control of three parliamentary boroughs.

The action takes place on the day set for signing the marriage contract that will give Sir Pertinax the opportunity to grasp what he has so long worked for — parliamentary importance as the owner of pocket boroughs. A considerable portion of the play consists of discussion, very heated on the part of Sir Pertinax, of political topics, in which are involved, not only the father and son, but also the chaplain and Lady Macsycophant. At other points, similar matters are brought in more or less casually. The whole is caustic satire of the Scotch politicians who swarmed into London in the wake of Lord Bute and of political corruption in general, with sideswipes at the Court party, or the "King's Friends," borough-jobbing, the Tories, and the Old Whigs. These objects vary in prominence in the different versions of the play, but the main object of the satire remains that indicated by the name happily chosen at last for the chief character, pertinacious sycophancy.

This is the play that was sent by Samuel Foote to the Examiner of Plays on August 2, 1770. Reasons for the refusal of the license may be found if one looks at the play in the circumstances surrounding its

first submission for license.

III..

In the summer of 1770 John Wilkes had only recently been released from prison amid the joyful shouts of the mob. The cry of "Wilkes and Liberty" was still ringing in the ears of the King, who had thought a few months before that his very crown depended upon the refusal of the Commons to seat Wilkes as M.P. for Middlesex. The letters of "Junius" were appearing in Woodfall's *Public Advertiser*, pouring their vituperation upon the ministers, the court, and the "King's Friends," if not actually upon the King himself. In this year, also, Burke published his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*. For a decade George III had been trying to rule the House of Commons by its own methods and had succeeded so well that, by the spring of 1771, Chatham was to announce as the reason for his conversion to the principle of frequent, short-term parliaments: "The influence of the Crown is become so enormous that some stronger bulwark must be erected for the defence of the Constitution."

This condition had come about as a result of a plan well known to students of English history. It has been described as "a struggle for the flesh pots of Egypt between factions usually Whig in origin, one of them being led by the king who entered the lists in the hope of saving his prerogatives. Of principles there is almost no sign." Government was carried on by factions and coalitions in a bewilderingly changing pattern, divided, however, generally into two groups, "Country party" and Court party or "King's Friends." One faction, the Scotch members of Parliament, displayed greater unity than most. "The northern kingdom sent to Parliament sixteen peers and forty-five representatives. With a singular tenacity of purpose these members always held together and voted unanimously for government whatever its complexion." In 1770, 192 members of Parliament held Government posts; and "the King took care to have at least one spy in office so that the least breath of disloyalty to the Crown was reported to the throne. Thus the Earl of Egmont carried out this service . . . and his work was continued by the Earl of Hertford as Lord Chamberlain of the household." 5

Francis Seymour Conway, first Earl of Hertford, was the Lord

¹ Quoted by W. E. H. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century (1882), III, 180. For a general view of the situation in the 1760's and '70's, see chaps. x and xi. See also the painstaking and illuminating analysis of political conditions, in L. B. Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (1929), and England in the Age of the American Revolution (1930).

² C. W. Alvord, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics (1917), I, 15.

³ Ibid., pp. 38-39.

⁴ Lecky, op. cit., III, 171.

⁵ W. T. Selley, England in the Eighteenth Century (1934), p. 126.

Chamberlain into whose office The Man of the World passed to be licensed for performance. He was a first cousin of Horace Walpole and brother of General (later Field Marshal) Henry Seymour Conway. His wife was daughter of the second, and aunt of the fourth, Duke of Grafton. After serving as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland during the Rockingham ministry, Lord Hertford was persuaded to remain in office in 1766 as Lord Chamberlain; and in the same year he acquired control of the borough of Orford, for which he had been dickering for some fifteen years. From this time, he was a prominent member of the Court party and, from personal as well as official contacts, often close to, and sometimes influential with, the King. When he wrote in 1768 to thank the King for appointing Lady Hertford to a post in the Queen's Bedchamber, His Majesty replied, "I am pleased whenever any thing agreeable to [Lord Hertford] is feesible as his Attachment to my Person has been uninterrupted." ² Lord Hertford was a party man, a useful man both as Lord Chamberlain and as gleaner of political information — so useful that, though he failed of a marquisate in 1762, he died a marquis twenty-eight years later. He seems to have been just such a man as Sir Pertinax would have delighted to bow to.

The Examiner of Plays, William Chetwynd,³ who had held the office, under the Lord Chamberlain, for the thirty-two years of its existence, died April 3, 1770. He had from the beginning, generally if not exclusively, discharged his office by deputy; so his death had no effect on the fate of Macklin's play. The Deputy Examiner, Edward Capell,⁴ who acted upon *The Man of the World*, had held that post since 1749 and had been the acting official throughout his tenure.

It is doubtful if the Lord Chamberlain saw Macklin's play when

Namier, The Structure of Politics, II, 471-85.

² The Correspondence of King George the Third, arranged and edited by The Hon. Sir John Fortescue (1927), II, 3. See also passim, for a general view of Hertford's relations and influence with George III.

³ He succeeded as third Viscount Chetwynd on the death of his brother in 1767. See

Burke's Peerage and the Dict. of Nat. Biog.

⁴ No successor to Chetwynd seems to have been appointed until 1778, when John Larpent took office. Capell, the Deputy, continued to act, but he seems not to have been promoted to Examiner. See Joseph Haydn, *The Book of Dignities* (continued by Horace Ockerby, 1890), p. 301.

it was first submitted. Nor was it necessary for him to have done so. A play more patently objectionable to the Court party than The Man of the World, in its state of 1770, it would be difficult to imagine; and Capell would undoubtedly have felt justified in acting on this case himself, without reference to the Lord Chamberlain, even if that had not been the regular procedure.2 Thoroughly aware, as Capell undoubtedly was, that the original intention of the Theatres Act of 1737 was to keep off the stage criticism of ministers and governmental practices, and scenes or speeches that might excite the mob - and sensitive, as an old civil servant necessarily is, to the weaknesses of his superiors - Capell really had no course open to him but to refuse the license. In the first place, on account of Foote's notorious habit of caricaturing living people, any play submitted by him was suspect and subject to search for forbidden personalities. Then, in this particular play, are, in the basic conception of the characters, a general attack on corruption in government, and, in the dialogue, specific utterances enough to damn it in the eighteenth century as seditious and libelous many times over. It must be remembered, also, that at this time the King himself was thoroughly familiar with the theaters and their repertories. He was a frequent playgoer; and in this very year he had received, presumably through the Lord Chamberlain, a petition requesting a license for a third winter playhouse.3 In view, then, of the characters and sentiments of the play itself, of the condition of the country, and of his understanding of the functions of his office, Capell's refusal to license The Man of the World was, from his point of view, the only sensible, safe, or, in fact, possible thing to do. The reasons for this action become obvious, if one compares the three versions of the play that were submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's office.

¹ On July 23, 1770, he wrote the King that he was absenting himself from his duties for a while on account of the death of his daughter. Though the *Correspondence of King George the Third* does not indicate when he returned to court, he might well have been away for two or three weeks. See the *Correspondence*, II, 154.

² In general, the Examiner had certain standards to guide him; for instance, no blasphemy, obscenity, or profanity, no personal allusions to living persons, and no references to Government were allowed. In applying these prohibitions to particular cases he, of course, used his own judgment.

³ Correspondence of King George the Third, II, 194-97. The petition is dated 1770 by Fortescue.

IV

The three manuscript copies of *The Man of the World* that were submitted to the Examiner of Plays are in the Larpent collection of plays, now in the Huntington Library. They were in the possession of John Payne Collier, from whom they passed into the library of Bridgewater House. Also in the Huntington Library is an interleaved copy of the *Biographia Dramatica*, once the property of Collier, that contains manuscript notes by Collier and by the sixth Duke of Devonshire. Facing the article on *The Man of the World* ¹ Collier has made the following note:

The entry in Larpents List regarding this play is as follows "Man of the World, from the Little Theatre Haymarket. Manager S. Foote. This piece was refused the licence in 1770." Afterwards we have these entries—"Man of the World from Covent Garden. Author Macklin. Manager T. Harris—The licence refused—1779—" "Man of the World from Covent Garden—Author Macklin—Licence allowed 1781—" In Larpents MSS. is the copy of 1770 with this note by Foote—"I agree to perform a Comedy called the Man of the World, if it receives the Lord Chamberlains permission—Sam¹ Foote—Theatre Royal Haymarket Aug 2." In this piece the hero is named Sir Hector Mackcrafty. Capel [sic] has written upon the MS "Thought unfit to be licensed."

In 1779 there was a correspondence on the Subject between Macklin

& Lord Hertford.

Though Collier does not say so, all three manuscripts are in the same collection: (1) MS Larpent 10 L I (1770), which for convenience in reference I shall call MS A; (2) MS Larpent 20 M 7 (1779),

MS B; (3) MS Larpent 26 M 4 (1781), MS C.

MS A consists of 87 pages of text, folio size, in the handwriting of a copyist, preceded by: (a) the original rough-paper cover, indorsed as follows: "X [a symbol apparently used in the Examiner's office to indicate that the manuscript had been acted upon] / [note, 2 lines, in shorthand, by J. P. Collier? ('The original copy of the Man of the World refused the license [...?]')] / The Man of the world / (Thought unfit to be licens'd.) [in the handwriting of Edward Capell] /

¹ Biographia Dramatica (1812), III (interleaved), facing p. 15.

Aug 2^{d} [hand of Collier?] 1770 [hand of Capell]"; (b) the conventional notice to the Examiner of intention to perform (quoted by Collier, above), in the hand of Samuel Foote and signed by him, dated "Aug: 2^{d} "; (c) a list of dramatis personae, followed by: "Scene Sr. Hector's house, ten miles from London Time 3 hours." Throughout the manuscript are notes, in pencil, calling attention to passages that have been omitted or changed in later versions of the play. These notes were presumably made by Collier, as they closely resemble similar notes, certainly made by him, in later manuscripts of the same play. No passages in the manuscript are marked by the Examiner to indicate the nature or extent of his objections to the piece, though a few x's in the margin may have been made by Capell instead of Collier. In this version of the play the two principal male characters, father and son, are called Sir Hector Mackcrafty and Marcus Montgomery.

A comparison of MS A with MS B shows that numerous revisions of the play were made before it was submitted a second time. Many of these revisions contribute to the economy and effectiveness of the presentation, without in any way affecting the features that were objectionable to the Examiner. They have been ignored in this discussion as irrelevant, though they are of considerable interest to the student of the drama itself. Politically offensive matter is generally found only in those scenes in which Sir Hector appears. At his first entrance, in Act II, however, with the unfolding of his character, the exposure of his business and political methods, and his violent Scoticisms, he begins to get into difficulties with the censor. Attention might well be directed to the passages given below to indicate the relationship of the three manuscripts to each other and to the printed version.

A part of a speech by Sir Hector follows:

Ay, Sir, This is your brother's impudent doctrine; . . . against my principles —Sir, Scotchmen—Scotchmen Sir, wherever they meet throughout the globe, should unite, & stick together, as it were in a political phalanx—For Sir, the whole warld hates us, and therefore we should love one another.²

MS A, p. 20; cf. MS B, pp. 33-34; MS C, p. 33; printed version (hereafter referred

to as "pr."), p. 17.

The printed version used for purposes of comparison is the first authorized edition, printed by J. Bell, 1793, with an Advertisement by Arthur Murphy, who was the editor; the play was published by subscription and dedicated to Lord Camden.

This and the two speeches immediately following and carrying on the Scottish theme, though now marked "x" in the margin, remain as written in MS B, but do not appear in MS C or in the printed text.

Again, Sir Hector:

Hah! — I must keep a devilish tight hond [on his son]... A fine time of day indeed for a blockhead, to turn patriot, when the Character is exploded — mark'd — proscrib'd — Why the common people, the vary vulgar, have found oot the jest, and laugh at a patriot now a days just as they do at a conjurer, a methodist, or any other impostor in Society.

In MS B, the words "mark'd — proscrib'd" are deleted and a substitution, in Macklin's hand, is written between the lines: "every body knows he wants but a Place; yes — that Stops his mouth at once —." "Methodist" is changed to "magician." The latter correction stands in MS C and in the printed text; but the former is restored in both to read as in MS A.

A speech by Lady Rodolpha, describing her amusements at Bath:

Why Sir, every day we had what was call'd the poleetical Cabinet; Which was made up of a duke and a haberdasher, a red hot patriot, a brawling courtier, a prerogative lawyer, & a discarded Statesman; Which Cabinet was constantly attended by an audience of incens'd partizans, all of whom were ready every minute till gang together by the gars about a parcel of ministerial leaders, who, by the pros and cons, and the charges & arguments, both sides seem'd to me till have no friendship but in faction, no merit, but in venality, nor any interest in public service, but their own.²

This speech is changed in MS B, and remains so in MS C and in the printed version, to read thus:

In another Party, Sir Pertinax, ha! ha! We had what was call'd the Cabinet Council. — which was compos'd of a Duke, and a Haberdasher — a Red-hot Patriot, and a sneering Courtier, a discarded Statesman, and his scribbling Chaplain, with a busy bawling, muckle heeded prerogative Lawyer, all of whom were every meenute, ready till gang to gether by the lugs, about the In, and the oot Meenistry, ha! ha!

² MS A, pp. 22–23; MS B, p. 38; MS C, p. 36; pr., pp. 18–19. ³ MS A, pp. 29–30; MS B, p. 52; pr., p. 25.

The following speeches of Sir Hector and his son, Montgomery, appear in MS A only:

Mont: . . . because I do not understand that philosophy.

Sr Hec: I know you do not Sir, and what is worse you never will understand it ass you proceed. for instead of luocking inteel the living world & perusing and making yoursel maister of the foibles of men, you are constantly luocking inteel the dead world, in order till admire their virtues, turning your brain with your Plato's, your Tully's, your Swifts, your Bolingbroke's, & a parcel of Sedeetious rascals, Who, because they were turn'd out of power themselves, resolv'd in revenge, to teach the mob, & the scum of the world, to rail at all those who should be in power after them.

Mont: That is a severe censure Sir.

Sr Hec: Sir, it is a just Censure, For I am convinc'd, the knowledge that they, and all such fellows teach, only makes men perverse, sedeetious, & saucy till their betters.¹

MS A contains a scene in Act III in which Sir Hector attacks Lady Mackcrafty and her family for seducing his sons to their party; it does not appear in MS B, MS C, or the printed version. Examples of the nature of Sir Hector's grievances follow:

... do not you, and your brats, on every occasion, give England the praise, in preference till your ain country? do you not insist, that even the very air in the South is softer, and that the Sun is kindlier, thun in Scotland? And even last night, did not you and your noisy cousin Gordon, face me down that the people in London, are cleanlier than we in Edinburgh — hah?

The other day too, did not you uphold your rebellious Son, that Oxford was a finer town than Glasgow, and that their poets here, have more genius

than ours! and their historians a better style? 2

In Act IV, Sir Hector discusses his political philosophy with his son. One of his comments, that appears only in MS A, reads:

I must cure him of his poleetical candour, patriotism, and ministerial independency, and aw sick nonsense, for should his patriotic intoxication grow upon him it wou'd render him quite ridiculous & ruin aw my measures.³

¹ MS A, p. 34.

² MS A, pp. 35-38.

³ MS A, p. 61.

Other alterations in the scene were made in MS B, and are noted below.

In the fifth act, Sir Hector takes his chaplain, Sidney, to task for teaching political independence and patriotism to his sons. The following portions of the dialogue appear only in MS A:

Sid: I am convinced there is a kind of infidelity congenial with the tools and creatures of ministerial ambition, that will not let them believe even in the existence of virtue, for the mind is so jaundic'd with the commerce of corruption, it tinges whatever passes thro' it, with its own infectious quality.

Sr Hec: How! how, how is that? What are you turning Satirist against

the Court & the ministry? how dare you do this?

Sid: How dare I?

Sr Hec: Ay, Sir, how dare you? do you presume to set up your dark musty, exploded, university notions, against the polish'd manners and the experimental knowledge of a court? Sir, notwithstanding your saucy slander against ministerial ambeetion, you are yourselves ass servile, ass factious, and ass ambeetious, within the Cloyster'd walls of a university as any ministers, or Courtiers that ever existed.

Sid: Sir, angry comparisons seldom shew the reason, or the manners of the man who makes them, to advantage; I have made none, nor do I pretend to be a champion for the learned bodies your intemperance has traduc'd — Yet this I will assert; that the brightest ornaments, & most useful greatness, that states, courts, or ministers can boast ever have been

drawn from that reverend Source.

Sr Hec: How! how Sir, from that source? from that source Sir?

Sid: Yes Sir, from that Source. — Indeed your doctrine of pimping for patrons

The manuscript then continues as in MS B, MS C, and the printed text.

The latter portions of Act V contain numerous lines that were revised when the condensation and tightening of the play took place before MS B was submitted; few of the changes, however, have any point in this study. But the final tag, a very important feature of an eighteenth-century comedy, as it told the audience what the author desired to teach in his play, was revised to eliminate political or social implications. In MS A it is phrased:

¹ MS A, pp. 72-73; MS B, p. 120; pr., p. 57.

Where Love, & liberty, in peace shall reign Free from the times infectious venal stain; Where every Sordid thought shall be withstood, Where Self, shall find her bliss — in Social good: And, as with us — So thro' this friendly Isle, May self, & social good, in union ever smile.

In MS B and succeeding versions the final emphasis is shifted, by means of the tag, to a sentiment more nearly consonant with the usual theme of sentimental comedy:

. this domestic circle. My Scheme, tho' mock'd by Knave, Coquette & Fool, To thinking minds, must prove this golden Rule; In all pursuits, — but chiefly in a Wife, Not Wealth, but Morals make the happy life.

MS B is 143 quarto-size pages of text, written on one side of the leaves, preceded by: (a) the original cover, of no interest; (b) the letters of the manager and the author to the Lord Chamberlain (quoted above); (c) a title-page; (d) the dramatis personae, in which the two principal male characters are listed as Sir Pertinax MacSycophant and [Charles] Egerton. The manuscript is in the hand of a copyist, but contains corrections in the hand of the author. In it are a number of passages marked by the Examiner for omission or correction, several of them deleted and with substitutions written on the blank verso of the page preceding that containing the deleted passage. The Examiner to whom this version was submitted, on December 4, 1779, was John Larpent, who had been appointed by Lord Hertford in November, 1778. Presumably the Lord Chamberlain himself saw this version, as the letters attached to it are addressed to him, but there is nothing in the manuscript to show that he read it. Capell, apparently, had nothing to do with it; but Larpent would have been equally familiar with the position and affiliations of the Lord Chamberlain, having served as his secretary while Lord Hertford was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

In the passages below are pointed out the corrections and substitutions in MS B, and at the same time the relation of MS B to MS C is shown. Again, slight differences, and differences of no political implications, are ignored.

In the sentence in Egerton's speech, "I can no longer be a slave to his temper, his Politics, and his scheme of marrying me," the words "his Politics" are deleted; an x stands opposite, on the blank page. This correction is not made either in MS C or in the printed text.

The following speech of Sir Pertinax is underscored and deleted:

Zounds, Sir, d'ye not see what other's do! Gentle, and Simple! — Temporal, and Spiritual, Lords, — Member's, — Judges, — Generals, and Bishops? aw crooding, bustling, pushing foremost, intull the middle of the Circle; and there . . .

Opposite, is written:

Zounds, Sir, do you not see what others do at every Levey, as well at the great Patriots, who is out — as at the Statesman's, who is in — at each of which, I say, do you not see, Gentle and Simple, temporal and Spiritual; needy, and affluent, Authors, Contractors, Puffers, Adulators, Projectors, and Dedicators; Soldiers, Sailors, Judges, Generals, Episcopals, and Kirkmen, compassing a multifarious Farago, and all crowding, bustling, and pushing forward into the middle of the Circle, and there waiting . . . ²

The correction is not made in MS C or in the printed text, both of

which follow the original version of MS B at this point.

Sir Pertinax's speech, ". . . for, Sir, they do not look upon you, as a friend, or well wisher either to Scotland, or Scotsmen," is underscored, deleted, and altered in Macklin's hand to, "they think you are cold in affection to them." The correction is not made in other versions.

The following dialogue between Sir Pertinax and his son in MS B is revised.

Sir Per: Aye, Sir, this is your Brother's . . . against my Preenciples, Sir, — Scotsmen, — Scotsmen, Sir, wherever thay meet throughout the Globe should unite, and stick together, as it were in a national Phalanx. — for, Sir, the whole World hates us, and therefore, we should love one another.

Eger: That is a severe Judgment, Sir; and according to my own [words in italics are written between the lines by Macklin] observation and indeed my frequent experience to the opinion of the most liberal minds in Scotland—consistent neither with truth, nor the indiscriminate affection of honest Social—impartial Nature.

² MS B, p. 28.

² MS B, p. 30.

Sir Per: How, Sir! not consistent with truth!

Eger: Not in my opinion, Sir; for I, who am a Scotsman, as well as you, have met with as warm friendships, and as many too, out of Scotland, as ever I met with in it.

Sir Per: Sir, I do not believe you.

The inflammatory portions of this dialogue are omitted from MS C, which reads:

Sir Per: . . . against my Principles.

Eger: Sir I never did — nor do I intend it.

Sir Per: But Sir, I know your connexions & associates, and I know that you have a saucy, 2

The italicized portion of the following speech of Sir Pertinax is underscored and deleted. Opposite it is an x.

Hah! I must keep a deev'lish tight hond upon this fallow I see; or he will be touch'd with the Patriotic frenzy of the times, and run riot till all my designs.³

Opposite the passage immediately following, and already referred to in connection with MS A, "Ah! I am frightened out of my wits, ... or any other Imposter on Society," is the word "Query -," written by the Examiner.⁴

The following is underscored and deleted, and a substitution writ-

ten opposite.

Eger: Then, Sir, I must frankly tell you, that you work against my Nature, — You would connect me with Men I despise, would make me a devoted Slave to selfish leader's, who have no friendship but in Faction, no Merit but in corruption, nor Interest in any Measure but their own, and to such Men I cannot submit. — for know, Sir, that the malignant ferment, which the venal Ambition of the times provokes in the heads and hearts of other Men, I detest.

Substitution:

Egerton — Sir, since you urge me thus earnestly you shall have the System you demand, as amply, and as precisely as the prompt integrity

¹ MS B, pp. 33-34; cf. ante, p. 91.

² MS C, p. 33; the printed version follows MS C fairly closely in this case. See page 17.

³ MS B, p. 37.

⁴ MS B, p. 38; MS A, pp. 22-23; MS C, p. 36; pr., pp. 18-19. Cf. ante, p. 92.

of my heart can give it. — First, I must frankly tell you, then, that you work against my nature. Your Passion has often charged me with a coldness to Scotland, and the Scotchmen, — in that, you wrong not only one but all human Nature for he who loves not the Soil that gave him Birth, must be less than man — A Species of Abortion — And as to my Countryman, when he is virtuous, I love him better than a man of any other Soil, — but when he is Vicious, I hate him more — My darling Passion, Sir, is my Country's good, and in that spacious Phrase, — my King — my fellow Subjects and the Whole Empire are as the Social Vitals[?] cordially embraced, As to voting, Sir, — I was born free, I will live free, Vote free, and die free

Sir Pertin — Sir, this is all a Utopian Vision, — you should observe the world — and live, and Judge, and Vote, as a man of the world — and not as a Don Quixot, or a man in the moon.

Egerton — Your pardon, Sir, but the sordid malignant Ferment that the venal ambition of the Times provokes in the heads and hearts of other men, I detest.

Sir Pertin — What are ye aboot, Sir

This substitution does not appear in MS C or in the printed version.

Although standing as written in MS C and in the printed text, the following portion of a speech of Egerton is deleted in MS B:

... or could my Eloquence pull down a State Leviathan, mighty in the plunder of his Country, black with the Treasons of her disgrace, and send his Infamy down to a free Posterity, as a monumental terror, to corrupt Ambition.²

Omitting a few cancellations of no special significance, one reaches the following speech of Sir Pertinax, deleted and corrected in MS B but standing without substitution in MS C and in the printed text:

Why you are mad, Sir, you have certainly been bit by some mad Whig or other.

Substitution:

Sir Pertinax — Ah! now you are wrong again! you confound me! I do not no [sic] what to make of you; I fear you are touched — a little mad, or so, let me feel your pulse, Child! — yes — (shakes his head) yes, yes, you

¹ MS B, p. 101; MS C, pp. 93–94; pr., p. 48.
² MS B, p. 102; MS C, p. 94; pr., p. 49.

certainly have been bitten by one of those seditious Orators of the Robin Hood, — or of the Westminster Forum Society — but now Sir . . . ¹

MS C, 133 pages of text, quarto-size, contains, also, a conventional notice to the Examiner, not dated, signed "T. Harris," without reference to alterations or revisions. It is indorsed, by Collier(?), "This is the later of the 2 4to copies & is altered according to the Licensers remarks in the other 4to —" (a statement that is not altogether true). Included with the text are a title-page, a list of dramatis personae, a Prologue, and Frederick Pilon's Epilogue substantially as printed in the Gentleman's Magazine.2 The manuscript is in the handwriting of two copyists. It is a fairly clean copy, with deletion of only one passage, a part of a speech by Egerton, in which the following phrases are still legible: "Wou'd make me a devoted Partizan to Selfish Leaders, who have no Friendship, but in Factions, no Merit but in . . . no regard, to their King and Country." 3 Throughout the manuscript are marks in pencil, by Collier (?), calling attention, sometimes inaccurately, to the relation of this manuscript to its predecessors. Other differences from MS B are slight and, for the purposes of this study, immaterial. The corrections called for by the Examiner in his marks upon MS B have in some cases been made, as I have pointed out in connection with that manuscript.

It seems likely that MS C represents the text of the play as it was originally performed. But it is perhaps worth noticing that the printed version, edited by Murphy, follows more closely the text of MS B. Therefore, the differences between MS A and MS B are the important ones in a study of the reasons for the suppression of the

comedy.

V

An examination of the successive alterations in the play shows that, gradually, objectionable features were eliminated or became less offensive as the passage of time altered the circumstances of the King's party and changed the political situation. Of these features, the first to be modified or entirely eliminated is the Scotch element, which, it

¹ MS B, p. 103; MS C, p. 95; pr., p. 49.

² LI (June, 1781), 283.

³ MS C, p. 48; cf. MS B, p. 101; pr., p. 48.

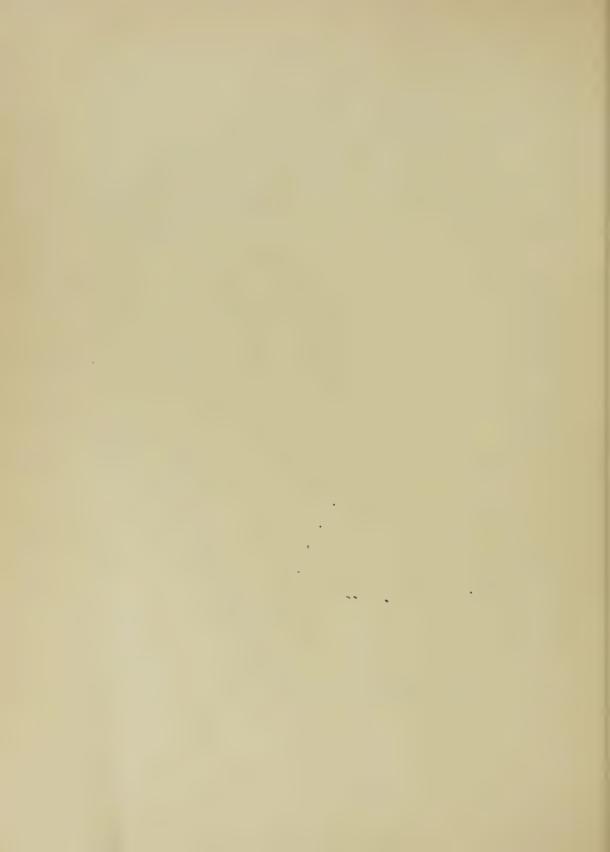
will be noticed, is much more pronounced in the first than in any of the succeeding versions. The change in the name of the leading character from Sir Hector Mackcrafty to Sir Pertinax Macsycophant shifts the emphasis from the Scottish feature of his portrayal to sycophancy. Other references to the Scotch character and to the then lively English jealousy of the Scotch in general, as well as of the Scotch bloc in Parliament, are softened and made less specific. References to the conglomerate character of the Chatham-Grafton ministry are eliminated, and would, by 1781, have lost their point. Numerous reflections upon factiousness, self-seeking, and corruption, "the time's infectious venal stain," are made general rather than specific. In the same category of discarded references are those to "ministerial independency" as a thing to scorn and avoid, and the satire of the slavish following of party leaders in the hope of reward, leading to plunder, treason, and corrupt ambition so characteristic of British politics of this period. The emphasis upon practical rather than theoretical politics, in certain speeches of Sir Pertinax, is virtually removed, as is the reference to sedition in the works of Swift, Bolingbroke, and others. Allusions to patriotic intoxication, reminiscent of the cry of "Wilkes and Liberty," which had caused so much apprehension among the King's friends ten years earlier, had practically disappeared from the play before it was seen on the stage. All of these elements would undoubtedly, at the time of the first submission of the play for license, have been specifically applied and taken as direct attack upon individuals and the Government.

Remaining in the portrayal of Sir Pertinax as objects of the most telling satire are his corruption — "venality," to use Macklin's word for it — satire of which no politician could safely object to; sycophancy, which none would openly admit in themselves; and, finally, and only slightly in the play, the practice of borough-jobbing, which had become, with the complete ascendancy of the King's party on the eve of the coming of the younger Pitt, a matter of much less moment to those in authority than it had been ten years before, as already the reform of parliamentary representation and the franchise

was a subject of open discussion.

The result of the elimination of these confusing features from the character of Sir Pertinax was the concentration of the satire of the

play upon a few general and telling points, serving to strengthen the portrayal of a singularly effective and disagreeable portrait. If the truth must be told, the censor really did Macklin ultimate service. As a result of enforced revisions, Macklin finally produced a play greater in conception, more economical in presentation, and more effective in every scene than that which had originally been refused a license. Ironically, the suppression of the play has been chosen as one of the more pronounced instances in support of the contention that the Examiner of Plays has been an obstruction in the path of English drama.



Thomas Paine, Edward Nares, and Mrs. Piozzi's Marginalia

By MARJORIE NICOLSON

THE Huntington Library possesses a rare copy of a work, important in its day though now almost forgotten, which is made doubly interesting by the marginal comment of Mrs. Hester Lynch Piozzi. To a generation no longer concerned with theology, its very title seems forbidding: 'EI Σ ΘΕΟΣ, 'EI Σ ΜΕΣΙΤΗΣ; or, An Attempt to Shew How Far the Philosophical Notion of a Plurality of Worlds Is consistent, or not so, with the Language of the Holy Scriptures. Yet in its day — it was published in 1801 — this title was highly significant, since it reflected a perennial problem which the "new astronomy" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had again made acute; and other readers than Mrs. Piozzi were aware that this volume, one of the many called forth by the publication in 1794 of Thomas Paine's Age of Reason, occupied an important place among the ephemeral literature occasioned by that tract, as one of the few replies to Paine which really faced the fundamental problem he attacked, and as an attempt by an obviously sincere theologian, who was at the same time well-read in contemporary theories of science, to reconcile belief in the Scriptures with belief in the new cosmos that astronomy had exhibited to man. In addition to the interest which this particular volume inspired in contemporary readers, its author - then comparatively unknown - was to become in a decade one of the most popular writers of his generation, thanks to the publication of another anonymous work of a very different sort.

¹ My attention was first called to this volume by Mr. Robert O. Schad, Curator of Rare Books at the Huntington Library.

Ι

The interest aroused by the theological volume, indicated by the number of inquiries received by the publishers concerning its author, led them, within a short time, to insert a new title-page, bearing the name of the author, the Rev. Edward Nares, D.D., Rector of Biddenden, later for twenty-eight years Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, whose chief claim to fame at this period of his life had consisted in his romantic marriage with Lady Charlotte Spencer, third daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, who, from the time she chose life in the secluded village rectory, never entered Blenheim again.

The broad interests of the "versatile professor," as his only biographer has called him, led Nares at every period of his life to trim his sails to all the winds that blew. When in 1783–84 the balloon ascents of the brothers Montgolfier startled the world, and when those ascents were followed by the efforts of Blanchard and Dr. Jefferies to cross the Straits of Dover, Nares expressed his interest in the theme of flight in an epic poem of four cantos and one thousand lines, The Ballooniad, which was widely read, and was translated into French for the amusement of the Dauphin. In 1785 Nares published in the Morning Chronicle a long poem on the same subject, designed for New Year's

¹ Mrs. Piozzi's copy, at the Huntington Library, is one of the early issue, bearing the original title-page, without the author's name. The insertion of the new title-page probably explains the allusion in Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1824), II, 694 x, to an edition of 1802. Only one edition of the work was published.

² The account and letters given by G. Cecil White, A Versatile Professor: Reminiscences of the Rev. Edward Nares, D.D. (London, 1903), pp. 130 ff., show that the marriage was not, as suggested in the Dictionary of National Biography and elsewhere, an elopement. It was reluctantly permitted by the family, and a settlement made upon Lady Charlotte; but, since the Marlborough family refused to include her husband in their invitations to

their daughter, Lady Charlotte refused to return to Blenheim, even as a guest.

³ One of the most popular of the many works occasioned by the balloon ascents of 1793–94, The Ballooniad has become excessively rare. No copy is listed in the British Museum Catalogue, nor is there one in the Aeronautical Collection of the Library of Congress. J. E. Hodgson, in The History of Aeronautics in Great Britain (London, 1924), says (p. 194): "The writer is aware of only one copy of the rare pamphlet . . . kindly lent him by Dr. F. J. Poynton. It is the second edition, and has an additional Third Canto." The Harvard College Library, however, possesses a copy of a second edition: The Ballooniad, in two cantos. Second edition (Birmingham, 1785). The work is not mentioned in such standard bibliographies as those of Tissandier, Wouwermans, Venturini, and Boffito, nor is it listed among the items described in catalogues on The History of Flight issued by Maggs Brothers.

Day, in the form of a dialogue between "Eighteen-Ninety-Five" and "Eighteen-Ninety-Six," in which he suggests certain aspects of the

stimulus which the new aviation had given to imagination.

It is not really incongruous that the man who wrote *The Ballooniad* and this trifle should have written a disquisition on the plurality of worlds, or that he should have delivered the Bampton Lectures at Oxford, in 1805, on *The Evidences of Christianity*, for, as will be seen, both 'EIX OEOX and the Bampton Lectures (which were a further development of the same theme) were written in response to current interest in provocative subjects; and Nares throughout his life responded to the contemporary and the controversial. His semisatirical *Heraldic Anomalies*, as well, was directed at fads and foibles of the day. It is somewhat more difficult to explain his magnum opus, a three-volume work on William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the very length of which suggests a perseverance and an assiduity of which his other works give no hint. Its length, indeed, was chiefly responsible for the violence of the attack Macaulay launched upon it in the *Edinburgh Review*, which begins:

The work of Dr Nares has filled us with astonishment similar to that which Captain Lemuel Gulliver felt when first he landed in Brobdingnag, and saw corn as high as the oaks in the New Forest, thimbles as large as buckets, and wrens of the bulk of turkeys. The whole book, and every component part of it, is on a gigantic scale... We cannot sum up the merits of the stupendous mass of paper which lies before us, better than by saying, that it consists of about two thousand closely printed pages, that it occupies fifteen hundred inches, cubic measure, and that it weighs sixty pounds avoirdupois. Such a book might, before the deluge, have been

¹ Extracts from the poem are given by White, op. cit., pp. 42-46. Nares was present when Blanchard and Jefferies made their ascent from Grosvenor Square.

² A View of the Evidences of Christianity at the close of the pretended Age of Reason: in eight sermons preached before the University of Oxford...in the year 1805, at the Lecture founded by J. Bampton (Oxford, 1805).

³ Heraldic Anomalies. By it matters not who (London, 1823). Another edition appeared in 1824.

⁴ Memoirs of the Life and Administration of the Right Honourable William Cecil, Lord Burghley... Containing an Historical View of the Times in which he lived... with extracts from his Private and Official Correspondence (London, 1828-31).

⁵ The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal, Apr., 1832, pp. 271-96.

considered as light reading by Hilpa and Shalum. But unhappily the life of man is now threescore years and ten.

Macaulay's censure is just enough: garrulity, which had always been one of Nares's characteristics, had grown upon him with the years. That very delight in loquacious trivialities had perhaps been responsible for the phenomenal success of the one book which, twenty years before the *Memoirs*, had made him famous. The modern reader who today picks up that "serio-ludicro, tragico-comico tale," *Thinks-I-To-Myself*, may well ponder upon changing fashions, and wonder what qualities in the tale (which, less a novel than a succession of verbose conversations, jests, verses, and reflections, drags its slow length along) could account for the fact that *Thinks-I-To-Myself* swept England and America, went through edition after edition, was read by royalty and the populace alike, and became for a time the favorite

topic of conversation of learned judges and bishops.

Perhaps the explanation is to be found in a comment which Macaulay made upon the *Memoirs*: "His book is swelled to its vast dimensions by endless repetitions, by episodes which have nothing to do with the main action, by quotations from books which are in every circulating library, and by reflections which, when they happen to be just, are so obvious that they must necessarily occur to the mind of every reader." ⁴ To our generation the salt has lost its savor; but to the generation for which the tale was written, these seemed witty reflections by that columnist of his age, "Thinks-I-To-Myself," who surveyed the passing scene, and, mildly in the manner of Tristram Shandy, commented upon it as it passed. "Thinks-I-To-Myself" was the average man of his period, raised to the *n*th degree; his reflections seemed for the moment universal. So clearly did the age find itself in these pages, that the printers worked even on Sundays to keep

To-Myself Who? (London, 1811).

4 Edinburgh Review, Apr., 1832, pp. 271-72.

¹ Nares replied to Macaulay in A Few Observations on the Edinburgh Review of Dr. Nares's Memoirs of Lord Burghley . . . in a letter from the author of that work (London, 1832).

² Thinks-I-To-Myself. A Serio-Ludicro, Tragico-Comico Tale. Written by Thinks-I-

³ Eight editions are listed in the British Museum Catalogue as appearing within the year. White (op. cit., pp. 173 ff.) has given further evidence of the tale's popularity. Although its phenomenal success lasted only a year, it continued to be republished frequently. One of the copies in the Huntington Library appeared at Philadelphia in 1853.

up with the demand for copies; and no one was more amazed than the Rector of Biddenden, who, although he composed a sequel to the "serio-ludicro" tale, and wrote many other works, did not again touch the dizzy heights to which *Thinks-I-To-Myself* lifted him for the moment, and who must sometimes have pondered ironically on the difference between the reception of this trifle, tossed off in ten days, and the careful biblical volume on which he had been engaged at the same time, which never sold three hundred copies.

Π

Of all these fugitive pieces of Nares, ΈΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ remains the most interesting to the modern reader, not only in itself, for it is on the whole free from the tedious loquacity of his later works and shows his early ability to attack a subject vigorously and firmly; not only because it takes us back to one of the great periods of controversy between religion and science, which has not yet ceased; but chiefly because Nares was among the few contemporary commentators upon Thomas Paine's Age of Reason who saw — what our generation misses as frequently as did the earlier — the real basis of Paine's "deism." It is extraordinary, indeed, that the majority of Paine's ardent disciples, as well as his antagonists, have failed to understand the chief source of his theological beliefs. And yet Paine himself exerted every effort to make that source clear in the first part of the Age of Reason, which he published in 1794.4 Only in the later additions, to which he was forced by the reception of the first part, particularly among the orthodox theologians, did he depart from presuppositions which had

I Says, Says I. A Novel, by Thinks-I-To-Myself (London, 1812).

² In addition to many published sermons, Nares was the author of Man, as Known to us Theologically and Geologically (London, 1834). In 1822 he added a third volume to Lord Woodhouselee's Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern.

3 Remarks on the Version of the New Testament lately edited by the Unitarians (London,

1810).

⁴ The Age of Reason; Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology. By Thomas Paine, Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Congress in the American War, and Author of the Works Entitled, Common Sense, and Rights of Man, &c. (Paris and London, 1794). An American edition appeared at the same time. I have used, not the original issue of the Paris-London edition of 1794, but a later issue of it (in the same year), that evidently undertook to correct typographical errors that had occurred in the first issue.

come to him from the "new astronomy" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and devote himself to fuller development of biblical exegesis. The first part of the Age of Reason - and this point seems to have been missed by all Paine's biographers - is the climactic and inevitable popularizing of a controversy 2 which, as old as human thinking, had returned with new violence in Giordano Bruno; which had received fresh ammunition, as both Kepler and Campanella realized, when Galileo's telescopic observations were reported in the Sidereus Nuncius in 1610; which was faced by Robert Burton in the Anatomy of Melancholy; which grew and spread during the seventeenth century until it became an accepted figure of speech in eighteenthcentury poetry, and the basis of much eighteenth-century philosophy; which was given new impetus by the discoveries of Herschel: the controversy whether ours is not merely one of a plurality - even, some dared to think, of an infinity — of worlds, whether the Creator has not poured himself forth with lavish and with unrestraining hand in an indefinite or possibly infinite series of universes, and whether each of these universes may not possess rational inhabitants.3 There is nothing new in what Paine has to say of this problem, in the Age of Reason. His "millions of other worlds, ... invisible by their distance"; 4 his "infinity of space . . . filled with worlds"; 5 his "im-

¹ Moncure Daniel Conway, The Life of Thomas Paine (London, 1893), II, 217, mentions, in a footnote, Paine's interest in astronomy, and remarks in the text that "the first part of the Age of Reason is largely astronomical," but makes no allusion to the background of thought. The most recent biography of Paine, Mary Agnes Best, Prophet and Martyr of Democracy (New York, 1927), pays no attention to the influence of science on him.

² I have attempted to develop in some detail the seventeenth-century background of these ideas (which I here treat in a cursory fashion), in a series of studies: "The Telescope and Imagination," *Modern Philology*, XXXII (1935), 233–60; "The 'New Astronomy' and English Literary Imagination," *Studies in Philology*, XXXII (1935), 428–62; "Milton and the Telescope," *E.L.H.*, *A Journal of English Literary History*, II (1935), 1–32; "A World in the Moon," in *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, XLVII (Jan., 1936), 1–72; and "The Microscope and English Imagination," in *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages*, XVI (July, 1935), 1–92.

³ I have suggested the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century background of this belief in the inhabitability of other worlds, in "A World in the Moon," mentioned above. In the seventeenth century, the moon was considered the other inhabited world; but, in the eighteenth century, interest shifted from the moon to the planets, after scientists had definitely de-

termined the unhabitableness of the moon.

⁴ Age of Reason, p. 25.

⁵ Ibid., p. 34.

mensity of space in which it [our world] is suspended, like a bubble or a balloon in the air"; his belief that ours is "only one of a system of worlds, of which the universal creation is composed" — all these were Paine's heritage, not from classical philosophy (for which he had little sympathy), but from two centuries of telescopic observation and discovery. These ideas had come to him, not only from close study of books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but from his own practical experience in that subject which he considered far more fitting for the education of the young than the "dead" languages—science.³ "The natural bent of my mind was to science," he declares; and he tells us that, when he was not permitted to follow that bent in his own education, he purchased a pair of globes, attended the lectures of Martin and Ferguson, put himself to school informally to Dr. Bevis, and studied astronomy as best he could, following avidly the new discoveries reported to the Royal Society.

While astronomy obviously held first place in Paine's mind, he did not neglect other phases of natural science. The telescope had opened to him, as to two generations of his predecessors, a new, vast cosmic universe; but the microscope, too, had played its part in stimulating his imagination. Like Pascal in the seventeenth century, Paine had turned from the cosmic system exhibited by the celestial bodies, to that other "new infinity," the crowded, teeming universe of the minute. With Leibniz, he came to realize the existence of a universe

infinitely full of all compossibles. He writes:

If we take a survey of our own world, or rather of this, of which the Creator has given us the use, as our portion in the immense system of crea-

¹ Ibid., p. 41. ² Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 37.

⁶ Dr. John Bevis (or Bevans), a physician as well as an astronomer, was the compiler of *Uranographia Britannica* and the author of *Tabulae Astronomicae* (1749). An English edition of the latter appeared in 1752. He also published many papers in the *Philosophical*

Transactions of the Royal Society.

³ Cf. his attack on contemporary education, with his desire to put science in the place of classical languages. (*Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff.)

⁵ Ferguson and Martin were both popular astronomers of the day, who put into intelligible language the latest conclusions of science. James Ferguson was particularly known for his Astronomy Explain'd on Sir Isaac Newton's Principles (1756), a work which ran through many editions. Benjamin Martin was almost equally well known for his Micrographia Nova (1742) and his Philosophia Britannica (1747).

tion, we find every part of it, the earth, the waters, and the air that surround it, filled, and, as it were, crouded with life, down from the largest animals that we know of, to the smallest insects the naked eye can behold, and from thence to others still smaller, and totally invisible without the assistance of the microscope. Every tree, every plant, every leaf, serves not only as an habitation, but as a world to some numerous race, till animal existence becomes so exceedingly refined, that effluvia of a blade of grass would be food for thousands.²

A century before, Fontenelle's "Philosopher," in an earlier work on the theme of a plurality of worlds and in almost the same terms, had described the fulness of the universe to a lady in a rose garden; Leeuwenhoek had reported to the sympathetic Royal Society his discovery of animalcules, and had given the first great impetus to the science of microbiology; Leibniz had made of the new telescopic astronomy and the new microscopical biology a consistent cosmic philosophy; Swift had satirized, while immortalizing them in Gulliver's Travels, the discoveries of the telescope and the microscope; Pope, Thomson, and Young had expressed in verse which resounded for many years in the ears of the eighteenth century, the same picture of a full, coherent universe. From this expanded universe, "where all must full, or not coherent be," Pope indeed, with one group of deists, had turned back to our own world:

Thro' worlds unnumber'd tho' the God be known, 'Tis ours to trace him only in our own.

Too vast a cosmos staggers comprehension; and it is a legitimate conclusion, to one type of mind, that "the proper study of mankind is Man." But Thomas Paine, with his group, reached another conclusion from the same premises. To him, the proper study of mankind remained the God of the new telescopic universe.

Paine's own words in the Age of Reason show clearly the effect of

scientific discoveries upon his religious beliefs:

After I had made myself master of the use of the globes, and of the orrery, and conceived an idea of the infinity of space, and of the eternal divisibility

¹ The first issue of the Paris-London edition of 1794 reads "planet" — an obvious misprint.

² Age of Reason, p. 41.

of matter, and obtained, at least, a general knowledge of what is called natural philosophy, I began to compare, or, as I have before said, to confront, the internal evidence those things afford with the christian system of faith.¹

That "evidence" was to Paine conclusive proof of the existence of a plurality of worlds — the central doctrine upon which the Age of Reason is founded:

Since then no part of our earth is left unoccupied, why is it to be supposed, that the immensity of space is a naked void, lying in eternal waste. There is room for millions of worlds as large or larger than ours, and each of them millions of miles apart from each other.²

But this, immense as it is, is only one system of worlds. Beyond this, at a vast distance into space, far beyond all power of calculation, are the stars called the fixed stars. . . . The probability therefore is, that each of those fixed stars is also a Sun, round which another system of worlds or planets, though too remote for us to discover, performs its revolutions, as our system of worlds does round our central Sun.

By this easy progression of ideas, the immensity of space will appear to us to be filled with systems of worlds; and that no part of space lies at waste, any more than any part of our globe of earth and water is left unoccupied.³

From this vision of the expanded cosmos, Paine does not, like some of the earlier thinkers, shrink back in terror or in loneliness. Rather, he conceives among his worlds interrelationships which suggest certain aspects of his political theories: "The solitary idea of a solitary world rolling, or at rest, in the immense ocean of space, gives place to the chearful idea of a society of worlds, so happily contrived, as to administer, even by their motion, instruction to man." Such a society of worlds bespeaks to Paine the "almighty power of the Crea-

4 Ibid., p. 46.

¹ Age of Reason, pp. 39-40. (The first issue of the Paris-London edition of 1794 omits the "of" before "the eternal divisibility of matter," in the first clause of this sentence, and, in the second clause, misprints "internal evidence" as "eternal evidence.")

² Ibid., p. 41. ³ Ibid., p. 44. (The first issue of the Paris-London edition of 1794 reads "the globe" instead of "our globe.")

tor," who in so contriving his vast universe has conferred on man inestimably greater advantages than could the existence of one world; who has taught man that nothing was made in vain. His is a Creator whose power and goodness have grown in man's mind as has the vast universe in which he has expressed himself. "Our ideas, not only of the almightiness of the Creator, but of his wisdom and his beneficence, become enlarged in proportion as we contemplate the extent and the structure of the universe." The "one God" of Paine's confession of faith is no anthropomorphic Jehovah, but a deity whose goodness and power express themselves in the vastness of the cosmic order which he has created. Paine wrote, "I know, . . . that there is a power superior to all those things, and that power is God." ²

Granted the loftiness of Paine's conception of the deity — and certainly no modern reader, separated by more than a century from the dust and heat of controversy, will deny it — what was there, in the Age of Reason, to shock the generation as it did? What was involved in the conception of a plurality of worlds that seemed to shake the foundations of accepted theology? Paine himself makes that clear; and, though the realization is in no way original with him, it was he who made his period aware of the ultimate effect of belief in a plurality of worlds, with its vast conception of cosmic universes, upon

orthodox theology:

Though it is not a direct article of the christian system that this world that we inhabit is the whole of the habitable creation, yet it is so worked up therewith, from what is called the Mosaic account of the creation, the story of Eve and the apple, and the counterpart of that story, the death of the Son of God, that to believe otherwise, that is, to believe that God created a plurality of worlds, at least as numerous as what we call stars, renders the christian system of faith at once little and ridiculous; and scatters it in the mind like feathers in the air. The two beliefs cannot be held together in the same mind; and he who thinks that he believes both, has thought but little of either.³

To believe in a plurality of worlds was to deny, then, not only the validity of Scripture, but, even more, the sacrifice of Christ — such is

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

² Ibid., p. 25.

³ Ibid., p. 40. The italics are mine.

Paine's conclusion, which echoed so loudly in the ears of an outraged generation that it forgot the premises from which that conclusion was drawn. Paine was by no means unique among the deists in drawing such a conclusion: as the deistic movement had grown and developed, its adherents, always stressing universality in religion, had expanded their conception of cosmopolitanism to cosmic proportions. No religion could be ultimately satisfactory which was limited by either time or place to one group, one race, even — as the "new astronomy" developed the idea of other inhabited worlds — to one planet or one series of worlds. Of all the stumblingblocks that the deists encountered in Scripture, the chief was less the first chapter of Genesis (as had been the case in the warfare between science and religion in the seventeenth century) than the New Testament dogma of the sacrifice of Christ. Paine puts the position clearly when he says:

... it is not to us, the inhabitants of this globe, only, that the benefits arising from a plurality of worlds are limited. The inhabitants of each of the worlds, of which our system is composed, enjoy the same opportunities of knowledge as we do...

... in the midst of those reflections, what are we to think of the christian system of faith that forms itself upon the idea of only one world, ...

From whence then could arise the solitary and strange conceit that the Almighty, who had millions of worlds equally dependent on his protection, should quit the care of all the rest, and come to die in our world, because, they say, one man and one woman had eaten an apple. And, on the other hand, are we to suppose that every world, in the boundless creation, had an Eve, an apple, a serpent, and a redeemer. In this case, the person who is irreverently called the Son of God, and sometimes God himself, would have nothing else to do than to travel from world to world, in an endless succession of death, with scarcely a momentary interval of life.²

This was irreverence and blasphemy to the orthodox; but to Paine, as to many others, it was a logical and inevitable conclusion from indisputable scientific premises. There is nothing here which had not been said before, but the time was ripe, the audience unconsciously ready.

2 Age of Reason, pp. 45-46.

The background of deism, from this point of view, has been treated by A.O. Lovejoy, "Optimism and Romanticism," *PMLA*, XLII, 921-46 (Dec., 1927). See also his "Parallel between Deism and Classicism," *Modern Philology*, XXIX, 281-99 (Feb., 1932).

The vigor and frankness of Paine's reasoning; the rhetoric of his great paean of praise to the vast expanded cosmos and its Creator; the keen popular interest in science, which had prepared many minds for all but the inevitable conclusion — these conspired to make the Age of Reason one of those shots heard round the world in the battle between science and religion. One fearful group of the orthodox covered their heads and waited, shuddering, for the hurled thunderbolt to strike dead the atheist; the other group set themselves busily to forging their own thunderbolts.

III

No complete bibliography of the replies to, and defenses of, Paine's Age of Reason has been compiled. The Catalogue of the British Museum lists more than fifty works occasioned by it, between 1784 and 1830, of which twenty-three appeared during the first three years after publication of the first part of Paine's work. These are only books and pamphlets which specifically declare their origin; the number would be at least doubled were one to consider also those works which, while taking their departure from Paine, do not mention him. For the most part, the replies confine themselves to attacks upon Paine's "blasphemy," to his interpretation of Scripture and his treatment of miracles and revelation, or to the place of "mystery" in the interpretation of religion. Few of them consider his astronomical arguments. There are exceptions to this generalization, to be sure. Richard Carlile, Paine's publisher, who defended him in his trial, not unnaturally shows himself fully aware of the basis of Paine's disbelief in revelation; and, in his defense, not only develops Paine's ideas in regard to the place of science in the education of the young, but insists that "the use of the telescope and the advanced state of the science of Astronomy has given us ocular and mathematical demonstration" of the truth of Paine's conjectures.2 Some of Paine's adversaries, too,

² An Address to Men of Science: Calling upon them to stand forward and Vindicate the Truth from the Foul Grasp and Persecution of Superstition. . . . By Richard Carlile (2d ed.; London, 1822), p. 40.

¹ The Huntington Library possesses eighteen of the tracts which specifically state that they were written in defense of, or attack upon, Paine, with a number of the other volumes which, while they do not mention Paine, reflect the controversy clearly. My generalizations in this section are based upon an examination of twenty-five such volumes.

face the problems which astronomy has raised and attempt to reply to them. The Rev. Uzal Ogden, of Newark, New Jersey, in his twovolume reply to Paine, discusses at some length the conception of a plurality of worlds; in one place he attempts to correct Paine's mathematics in order to show that what Paine has to say of celestial distances is incorrect. Ogden does not for a moment deny that there may be other inhabited worlds; 2 but he points out that we have no evidence that the rational inhabitants of these other worlds "were originally in a probationary state; that they have abused their moral agency and incurred the displeasure of their creator." 3 We alone, in a vast series of universes, Ogden declares, may be the only offenders for whom the mediation of Christ was necessary; behold and see, he seems to exult with a Calvinistic fervor, if there be any sin like to our sin! Some critics attempted to keep both the idea of a plurality of worlds and the belief in revelation, by finding "other worlds" implied in the Bible.4 Some beg the question raised by cosmic philosophy by insisting that, since we can prove nothing concerning the existence of other inhabited worlds, we must confine our speculations "to this globe only that we inhabit, and proceed upon matters of fact, which are stubborn things"; 5 straining at the gnat of astronomy, they swallow the camel of revelation. Still others, like Samuel Stilwell, take refuge in irony: "Upon a survey of the whole, if you embrace Mr. Paine's system of religion, it will be necessary for you to furnish yourselves with a pair of globes, a microscope and telescope, and every necessary apparatus to find out the principles and properties of a triangle; and then apply yourself to the use of these to gain the true knowledge of God and your own duties." 6

But none, either of Paine's disciples or adversaries, treats Paine's

Antidote to Deism. The Deist Unmasked: Or An Ample Refutation of all the Objections of Thomas Paine, Against the Christian Religion. . . . By the Reverend Uzal Ogden, Rector of Trinity Church, at Newark, in the State of New-Jersey (Newark, 1795), I, 121.

² *Ibid.*, II, 265 ff. ³ *Ibid.*, II, 266.

⁴ Cf., for example, The Sophistry of the First Part of Mr. Paine's Age of Reason. . . . In Three Sermons, by J. Auchinloss (Stockport, 1796), p. 10.

⁵ Deism defeated by Matter of Fact. Or, An Answer to Thomas Paine's Age of Reason, in which the Authority of the Bible is Defended (London, 1796), p. 32.

⁶ A Guide to Reason. Or An Examination of Thomas Paine's Age of Reason. And Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology. By Samuel Stilwell (New York, 1794), pp. 26-27.

main point as vigorously as does Edward Nares in 'EID OEOD.' Unlike many of the works called forth by the Age of Reason, Nares's book is not invective. For a man of his background, it is curiously dispassionate and objective. Indeed, Nares shows real respect for the religion of the deists, even those who have attacked the central tenet of the Christian faith; he attempts to find the basis of their criticism; he shows a sympathetic appreciation of the theological difficulties they raise; and, finally, he endeavors to explain away what seemed the logical inconsistency, both by his philosophical interpretation of the idea of a plurality of worlds and by his reinterpretation of the scriptural passages in the Old and the New Testament, which Paine and others constantly quoted.' The central idea of his work is expressed by Nares thus:

Among the many objections brought against Christianity, it has been known to be one main offence to Deists, that man should be so arrogant, as to think himself of importance enough in the scale of being, to have a messenger sent from God, expressly to enlighten, and even to redeem him. This that we call our world, say they, is almost now demonstrated to be so small a speck in the universal creation, as might almost escape the very sight of the Creator, if he was not omnipresent. It is at best but a small planet, in one out of myriads of systems; and shall such an insignificant thing as the inhabitant of this atom be so much an object of care and concern to the Maker of all these suns and planets and heavenly systems, as to have the course of nature interrupted for his sake, and a messenger sent from the Heaven of Heavens? But how shall we express our horror, they continue, when we are required to believe, that the fulness of God has dwelt among us!

Such are their expressions, or at least the purport of them; and it must be admitted, that, to a certain degree, there may appear some justice in them. Man is but a worm of the earth, and the earth probably but a speck

² The interpretation of Scripture occupies the second part of the work, pp. 173-404. I am confining myself in my discussion to the general ideas treated in the first part.

The response to Paine which seems to me to approach it most closely is A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation, Viewed in Connexion with the Modern Astronomy. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. (New York, 1818). Chalmers' survey of the effect of astronomy upon the Christian religion, particularly in his first discourse, is extremely competent. He is more orderly in his thinking than is Nares; but he shows no such acquaintance with the history of the idea of a plurality of worlds, nor so much thought upon the subject. In addition, he had had the advantage of Nares's work.

in the Universe; and God is infinite, and not the maker of man only, or the planet he inhabits, but of myriads and myriads of such worlds as this, and perhaps of myriads and myriads of different and distinct races of intelligent beings. But, if they will run the race with us, not only for upholding, but for enlarging our ideas of God's infinite perfections and incomprehensible greatness, we are nothing loth to contest the point with them. In the name of that God we both profess to adore, let us, for once at least, unite, in setting forth his glory, and proclaiming aloud "the wonders that he doth for the children of men". They object to the Christian mediatorial scheme, as inconsistent with the greatness and glory of God. I shall not repeat what they say, or unnecessarily bring to remembrance the many degrading ideas this system is said to present to their minds; but it will be the purpose of this tract to take them up upon their own grounds, and see whether, upon that very foundation, the whole mediatorial scheme may not serve exceedingly to raise and exalt our notions of God's greatness and magnificence.1

In this attempt "to take them up upon their own grounds," Nares is led to treat at length three main themes: the conception of a plurality of worlds, the nature of God, and the mediation of Christ. His discussion of the first affords one of the most competent résumés of the idea of a plurality of worlds to be found up to that period, and his survey of the historical development of the conception indicates the remarkable breadth of reading of the Rector of Biddenden, who was at this period of his life entirely dependent, for his sources, upon his own library. In tracing the history of the idea, Nares inclines to discount the influence of classical philosophy, although he is aware that some such doctrine was held by a number of early thinkers. Having

¹ 'EI Σ Θ EO Σ , pp. 12–16.

² In the discussion of these three topics, I have imposed an order upon Nares which will not be found in the work itself, since Nares is characteristically discursive. Many of his most important arguments are to be found in the long notes and quotations which supplement almost every page of the book.

³ He mentions this difficulty several times, apologizing for paraphrases rather than direct quotations, or acknowledging that he has not been able to read a book to which he refers, because it is not in his library. He also mentions, in one of his letters (quoted, White, op. cit., pp. 147-48), the assistance of Lady Charlotte Nares in finding illustrative material for him.

⁴ Cf. 'EIΣ ΘΕΟΣ, pp. 81-82: ''The doctrine of a plurality of worlds, as to the mere terms, is certainly very old; but the ancient philosophers had such strange notions about their substance and condition, that except, perhaps, as to a very few, who, in other respects, were as wretched philosophers as the worst among them, their notions on this head are not

lain dormant for many centuries '— so Nares believes — the idea was revived with new force and new meaning by the impact of modern astronomy. He finds the conception at least implied in Kepler's Somnium, which he mentions several times. He sees clearly, as historians of our own day are coming to see, that the post-telescopic conception of a plurality of worlds differed in many significant features from the logical presuppositions which are found before 1610. The sudden emergence of the idea into general popularity he attributes, correctly enough, to the fact that "it was made the subject of wit and gallantry by Fontenelle," who "drew the attention not only of the learned and philosophical, but of all the inquisitive and curious of both sexes." Fontenelle made the idea a fad of the moment; it remained, Nares believes, for Christian Huygens to develop it into a philosophical theory, and to point out "that the Copernican System leads to the doctrine of a plurality of worlds."

From the time of Huygens, Nares feels, the doctrine has been seri-

worth repeating." Among such philosophers, he includes (p. 81 n.) Diogenes and Plutarch. He pays passing tribute, in his brief survey of the later period (p. 90), to Cardinal Cusanus and to Bruno, but seems not to have read either in detail.

The persistence of the theme during this period is treated in a forthcoming work by

Mr. Grant McColley.

² See particularly p. 85 n. Nares's comments upon the *Somnium* are another indication of the great influence, upon the imagination of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of that work, which has been almost neglected by modern historians of science.

3 I have suggested this idea in the articles referred to above, and develop it in more

detail in a later paper on "Voyages to the Moon."

⁴ Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes (Paris, 1686). The work was immensely popular; the fourth French edition appeared in 1698; English translations by Aphra Behn and John Glanvill were published in 1688, and both went through several editions; a translation by W. Gardiner was republished at least five times; and there were various other English translations during the eighteenth century.

5 'ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, p. 82.

⁶ C. Hugenii ΚΟΣΜΟΘΕΟΡΟΣ, sive de Terris coelestibus, earumque ornatu, conjecturae (1698; editio altera, 1699). The work was translated into English, by Huygens' brother Constantine, as The Celestial Worlds Discover'd: or Conjectures concerning the Inhabitants, Plants and Productions of the Worlds in the Planets (London, 1698); another edition (the one to which Nares refers) bore the title, Cosmotheoros: or conjectures concerning the Planetary Worlds (Glasgow, 1757).

7 'EI Σ Θ EO Σ , p. 83. Nares gives an analysis of Huygens' work, pp. 90 ff. He adds, in a note to the passage above: "Lord Bolingbroke is not content to say, the Copernican System leads to the notion of a plurality of worlds; he says, it constrains us to suppose other inhabited

globes like our own."

ously considered and frequently accepted by many of the most thoughtful and learned men, as the inevitable outcome, first of the Copernican, then of the Newtonian, cosmic scheme; in his own lifetime, the great discoveries of Herschel had given it still more profound significance. There is no question of Nares's own acceptance of the theory. He justifies it upon scientific and philosophical, as well as historical, grounds. Nares's is a universe of infinite space, of multitudinous worlds; more, "our glasses seem to detect new ones every day." He finds in Herschel's discoveries, as reported to the Royal Society, new evidence that in the crowded heavens are planet on planet, world on world, "connected together in one great System of mutual support." He goes back not only to the philosophers but to the poets, for evidence of the stimulus which this belief has given to imagination.² And why, he asks, should he not, as an orthodox theologian, believe in a plurality of worlds? He sees nothing in his theology to contradict the idea which he feels has vastly expanded human imagination, that "not only this pitiful globe of our's; - but all the plurality of worlds, and variety of beings, that infinite space can contain" ³ bespeak the greatness of their Creator. Nares's is the deity of the "new science," expressing himself everywhere and eternally in all possible varieties of life; his "best of all possible worlds," which follows closely the eighteenth-century theodicies from which it is obviously drawn, is that in which all possible aspects of existence are to be found. It is a universe that man had derived from telescopic and microscopic observation, as well as from the Platonic conception of a plenum formarum, infinitely full and, because of fulness, coherent.4 From that conception of a deity expressing himself eter-

¹ Ibid., p. 67.

² Nares refers frequently to Addison, Pope, and Blair; but his chief references are to Young. It is interesting to see, in the works of Paine's disciples, the great effect of the Night Thoughts, particularly of the "Ninth Night."

³ ΈΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, p. 27.

4 The philosophical backgrounds of these ideas, particularly the Platonic conception of Nature as a plenum formarum, with the "principle of plenitude" derived from it (which became of such great importance in eighteenth-century thinking), have been studied by Professor Lovejoy in the articles referred to above, and are further developed in The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea (Cambridge, 1936). In the group of articles to which I have already referred, I have stressed, rather, the scientific preconceptions which supplemented these philosophical ideas.

nally in creation of all possible forms of life, Nares reaches his justification of the idea of the mediation of Christ. The deists, he suggests - and his point is well taken - have allowed themselves to be so overwhelmed by the scientific conceptions of a vastly expanded cosmic order and of an infinitely full universe, in their finding that man is only one of the many links in the great chain of being, that they have tended to disparage too much the importance both of man and of the little world in which he dwells; reaction from the earlier glorification of man and of the globe which he inherits, has, Nares feels, gone too far. "The Deist can admire and acknowledge the hand of God in the wings of an ephemeron," says Nares acutely, "though he thinks our poor earth too paltry for the Son of God to visit!" Minute and infinitesimal our earth has become, Nares acknowledges readily; it is only one of several known planets, and by no means the greatest of them; and our known planetary system is only one small part of the great cosmic creation. Man is, truly, but one of the innumerable species of existence created by God. As man surveys the vastly expanded chain of being,

> Then in the scale of reas'ning life 'tis plain There must be, somewhere, such a rank as Man.

Yet, Nares insists, this realization that man is only one of the links in the chain has carried the deists to extremes. Man does differ from other animals; if he is but a reed, the weakest in nature, he is nevertheless a thinking reed; like all other parts of the creation, "the firmament, in which are worlds innumerable; the worlds, in which are beings innumerable: all of them, as things made, distinguished from the Maker, by different deficiencies and imperfections," he shares the imperfections of his species; but he is also unique among these imperfect creations, for he alone is one of the "parts endowed with such faculties of sense and feeling, as to be capable of tasting felicity, of comprehending in time the ways of his providence, and of testifying a regard for their Maker." If this, then, is the unique function of "rational" animals, why should we believe that such "testifying," such "comprehending," is limited to one group of rational beings upon our globe alone? "We know not, but that the other worlds, if such there are,

¹ Op. cit., p. 14.

² Ibid., p. 27.

and they inhabited, must needs be possessed by beings in rationality and intellect resembling ourselves; whatever may be the different degrees of intellect, or whatever outward covering, or form, or 'fleshly tabernacle' may be assigned to their souls in their present state." How much more consistent with the glory of God it is to consider that everywhere throughout the cosmic order are beings endowed with the capacity of tasting felicity, and of joining in the great chorus of praise to their Maker. So the deists themselves affirm. Why should they, then, hesitate to believe that, as the Deity expresses himself everywhere and eternally in all forms of life, he may eternally be "giving light, in some way inscrutable to us, to every rational creature throughout the mighty firmament?" 2 What inconsistency are we to find in the belief that that "Light" of God, through Christ, has shone upon other races of men, as upon ourselves? Why may it not "be the system of God's providence, with regard to the worlds scattered around by the power of his arm, . . . that his divinity, though necessarily one and unalterable, may yet, in its energies and effects, be so far locomotive, as to keep up such a communication with all the works of his hands, as may tend to ameliorate the condition of things, till the grand consummation of all." 3

Is this to limit deity? Nares asks, and he answers his own question:

I think I see something, surpassing in glory and greatness itself, all that I can conceive, in the notion of God's sending forth, from his own bosom, a ray of his divinity, to guide the diffident and fearful soul, though it have to pass to the utmost bounds of the creation, to find our remote ahiding [i.e., abiding?] place.⁴ . . . if Scripture neither asserts, nor should seem to imply this doctrine, still, if our philosophical contemplations and researches have excited in us much more exalted ideas of God's greatness and majesty, since the plurality of worlds has appeared to be a physical truth; I do not see, why it should not give us far more enlarged ideas of God's infinite mercy, to represent to ourselves, from the very words of Scripture, that the same mediatorial method of aiding, healing, and removing the infirmities of God's creatures, has been, or will be, extended in its effects to the utmost limits of the Universe: and, when this mighty work of salvation shall be concluded, and all the acts of all the rational beings throughout the Uni-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

³ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

verse have been brought to account, then the mediatorial functions will cease, and "God be All in All.["] ¹

Thus, to Nares, there seems no fundamental inconsistency between the idea of a plurality of inhabited worlds, and the idea of redemption of man through the sacrifice of Christ. If in those other worlds, too, sin has entered in — and Nares believes that, since all created life shares in the "imperfections of the creature," it will be found to have done so — then the mysterious power of that "ray of divinity," the "light of his heavenly truth," may shine, not only into "one small closet of his spacious house," but into the "many stately rooms" of his mansions. So Nares, product of his scientific age, attempts to reconcile the new authority of astronomy with the old authority of revelation, and reaches his conclusion that "the philosophical notion of a plurality of worlds is consistent . . . with the language of the Holy Scripture," and that, as his Greek title had implied: "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." ²

IV

Among the many readers of 'EIS ΘΕΟΣ was Mrs. Hester Lynch Piozzi. Nares's book was published late in the summer of 1801. On December 2 of that year, Mrs. Piozzi, having completed the publication of her two-volume Retrospections, wrote to Dr. Robert Gray: "We shall go to Bath next month." ³ The Piozzis remained at Bath for some months, and while they were there Mrs. Piozzi bought a copy of 'EIS ΘΕΟΣ. In that "vigorous, black manuscript" ⁴ of which she was justly proud, she inscribed on the flyleaf: "Bought of Bull at Bath 5 March 1802. H. L. Piozzi"; and evidently settled down to read with care a book of the sort that delighted this woman who "had for sixty years constantly and ardently studied the Scriptures,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53. ² I Tim. 2:15.

³ Dr. Johnson's Mrs. Thrale. Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi, edited by A. Hayward, Q.C., Newly Selected and Edited, with Introduction and Notes by J. H. Lobban (Edinburgh and London, 1910), p. 288.

⁴ Piozziana; or, Recollections of the Late Mrs. Piozzi, With Remarks. By a Friend [E. Mangin] (London, 1833), p. 9. Mangin notes (p. 8): "Her writing was, even in her 80th year, exquisitely beautiful."

and the works of commentators, in the original languages; and during her lengthened life conversed with the soundest divines and best scholars of the age." If any proof were needed for the statement of her early biographer that Mrs. Piozzi "read and wrote Hebrew, Greek and Latin"—a statement which seems for some reason to have been challenged by more recent critics2—her annotations in ΈΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ would offer that proof, for Mrs. Piozzi not only writes a marginal comment upon a Hebrew word,3 but in another section, in which Nares is discussing alternative interpretations of the first chapter of Genesis,4 she, agreeing with him, notes: "I think so too,—I think 'tis parenthetical," and adds the Hebrew, "πρ. παίσσος μεταίστος μεταίσ

Unfortunately, from our point of view, the long journey which the Piozzis undertook in 1801–2 ⁵ prevented Mrs. Piozzi from comments in the "Thraliana," ⁶ her journal book, upon her reading of Nares. She does, however, mention the book in a letter written from Bath on March 17, 1802, to Dr. Robert Gray, later Bishop of Bristol:

I get more conversation here than in London. Our modern *Plurality of Worlds* is much admired, and justly . . . my worst fear is lest, in these daring days of bold and unauthorized conjecture, some one should start out and go as far *below*, as Mr. Nares has gone *above*, the old standard. We might then see printed George Psalmanazar's speculative ideas concerning the souls of brutes, and have old Cicero rummaged for quotations. Mr. Piozzi's notion of modern music helps me to illustrate my own meaning.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

² Hayward (Autobiography, Letters and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi [London, 1861], I, 43) says that "she could appreciate a classical allusion or quotation, and translate off-hand a Latin epigram into idiomatic English." Sir Leslie Stephen, in his article in the Dictionary of National Biography, says that she "learned Latin — apparently not Greek." Her most recent commentator, J. P. R. Lyell (Mrs. Piozzi and Isaac Watts [London, 1934], pp. 14-15), says: "She received a liberal education and acquired a knowledge of French, Italian, and Spanish, besides a working acquaintance with Latin."

^{3 &#}x27;EIΣ ΘΕΟΣ, p. 14 n. The comment is given below.

⁴ Ibid., p. 64.
5 On September 3, 1802, Mrs. Piozzi wrote to the Rev. Daniel Lysons (quoted, Hayward, op. cit., II, 83): "And now we are come home at last after an eight months' absence, and a soo miles' tour."

⁶ The "Thraliana," now in the possession of the Huntington Library, are being prepared for publication by Miss Katharine Balderston. There are no entries for the year 1802.

"Variations are very entertaining," says he, "but I like a quick return to

the subject, which never should be too far forsaken." I

Apart from this one letter, her interest in the work can be surmised only from her marginal comments, which are very similar to her recently published marginalia upon the Philosophical Essays of Isaac Watts.2 Many of Mrs. Piozzi's observations in ΈΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ are naturally no more important or significant than the notes of most book annotators, except in so far as they suggest the care with which she read, and give some clue to her own background of general reading. Sometimes, for instance, she objects to her author's grammar, as when, Nares having written "their natures, laying in darkness," Mrs. Piozzi changes "laying" to "lieing"; or when, again, Nares comments upon a book "that lays before me," and Mrs. Piozzi underlines "lays," and notes with asperity: "better begin with the Grammar." 4 In another passage, she suggests a change in phraseology from "on external things" to "on human things." 5 Also, she checks without comment passages which interested her.6 At other times she has indicated by a brief comment her appreciation of, or interest in, a particular passage. Thus, a "fanciful conceit" of the Italians that the final dissolution may be compared to "the sound of a clock just before it strikes," brings from Mrs. Piozzi the note: "A very fine Idea in my Mind & very Expressive." 7 A comment of Nares about questions "of more curiosity than use," in connection with "the length of the days of the Hexaëmeron," leads Mrs. Piozzi to underline "curiosity than use," and add, "so it is all." 8 A question of Nares as to whether it is "of any concern to us, physical or moral, whether the heavenly bodies are intrinsically what our senses represent them," is answered by Mrs. Piozzi, "no truly." Another query by Nares, whether the biblical passage on "growing old like a garment" applies to the heavens, with

The letter is published in Dr. Johnson's Mrs. Thrale, pp. 288-89. The editor seems to

have omitted a passage from the discussion of EID OKOD.

3 'ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, p. 19.

4 Ibid., p. 137. 5 Ibid., p. 40 n.

² Mrs. Piozzi and Isaac Watts. Being Annotations in the Autograph of Mrs. Piozzi, on a Copy of the First Edition of the Philosophical Essays of Watts. With an Introduction and Notes by James P. R. Lyell (London, 1934).

⁶ The passages checked without comment are Nares's note (p. 5) on John the Evangelist, and a quotation from Plutarch (p. 41 n.).

⁷ P. 68 n.

⁸ P. 97 n.

⁹ P. 145.

his conclusion that the interpretation of such expressions is often difficult, leads Mrs. Piozzi to comment, "ay truly." Her longest passage of this sort occurs in connection with a quotation from Locke on the profound difficulty he found in reconciling "freedom in man" with "omniscience and omnipotence in God." The passage is marked by Mrs. Piozzi with a heavy bracket, and the comment: "incomparably said, sweetly express'd: & yet a fault in it — no Man can be faultless in his expression on the Subject: all Language bends under it; —& that again is as it should be: Language was made for man — but

Knowledge was withheld in mercy." 3

Others of Mrs. Piozzi's marginalia, while still not of general significance, suggest something of the breadth of her reading. A comment on the "musical instrument of the god Pan," leads her to the note: "Pan's 7 Pipes were the 7 Notes of Music." 4 To a quotation from Bishop Sherlock, "By his Spirit He [God] hath garnished THE HEAVENS; his hand hath formed THE CROOKED SERPENT," she queries: "was it not the Zodiack? Path of their favourite Object of Adoration! The Golden Sun!" 5 Again, when an author whom she dislikes, making use of a figure of speech, calls the moon "but a secondary candlestick, a sconce to reflect the light from the sun," Mrs. Piozzi writes ironically: "well! so says Parkhurst, he calls it a Sconce; & forgets to say that the wise Son of Sirach calls it so too, in the 42d Chapter of Ecclesiasticus — where he terms The Sun a marvellous Instrument the Work of the Most High." 6 In connection with certain symbolic interpretations of Irenaeus, she remembers: "The Story of Cupid and Psyche — The Soul seeking to comprehend her Benefactor, Nature; seduced by doubts of his Divinity, was drawn by Apuleius from these Sources doubtless." 7

Others of the marginalia are of more general interest. Those of one group have to do with the "new science," showing Mrs. Piozzi's interest, not only in the problems which Nares raises, but in general scientific questions of the day. She knew something, at least, of other

¹ P. 352 n.
² The passage occurs in one of Locke's letters to Molyneux, January 20, 1692/3. Cf. The Works of John Locke (London, 1824), VIII, 305.

³ P. 31 n. ⁴ P. 388 n. ⁵ P. 179. ⁶ P. 106 n. ⁷ P. 263.

sciences than astronomy, for she pauses to comment upon a passage in which Nares, discussing the ultimate "renovation of things," suggests that the "new creation" which the Deity may produce from the old will be a new creation. "Renovation," she writes, "does resemble Creation: - see the Chemical Process of all fermented Liquors. . . . The stuff when fermented is a new Thing." She shows interest in the newly emerging science of geology, checking, with the comment "very good," a passage discussing some of the theories of de Luc on fluvial deposits; ² and in a continuation of the same passage, in which Nares considers de Luc's conjectures as to the origin of the earth and concludes, "Though we may know what is, we cannot know what has been," Mrs. Piozzi varies the sentence to read: "We cannot know even what is; but we can make [a] better guess at that, than at what has been." In connection with Nares's discussion of other "geological" explanations of the present form of our earth, she calls attention to a common confusion in terms, when she says of a "learned writer" who has spoken of the deluge as inundating the universe: "He did not mean the Universe, tho he said so — He meant our Terraqueous Globe." 3 In another place she reminds herself of the development of geography, for in attempting an interpretation of the biblical passage, "all the PEO-PLES of the world," she says: "Recollect that a 4th Continent of you Earth was then unknown." 4 A passage of Nares, in which he is discussing the "imperceptible corporeal differences" which the developing science of biology had shown among the "beings below us," leads her to the spirited rejoinder: "Brutes must be let alone in this controversy — they are by no means as brutish as wise Men think them; but that is another affair." 5

The majority of her comments on science have to do with astronomy, either because of the theme of Nares's book, or because of the engrossing interest of the age. She had clearly followed the discoveries of Herschel, and had herself observed the moon through a telescope, for, in commenting upon a quotation from Cudworth, who had declared that "there could not possibly be a world of rational creatures made by God, either in the moon or in some other planet," she writes: "Herschel's view of ye Moon gives us no great heart of finding it in-

¹ P. 223. ² P. 376 n.

² P. 119. 4 P. 220.

⁵ P. 46 n.

habited. — It seems a wild Place indeed: nearly Chaotic for what I could see of it, and most resembling a large Piece of Gold taken out of a Mine." She was aware of Herschel's discovery of the planet Uranus, for she notes, in connection with Nares's discussion of "the SEVEN PLANETARY BODIES": "but more than seven Planets have now been seen." She had followed, also, some of the more recent observations on the sun. Nares observed: "... now we are all fully convinced, that the sun is not a globe of fire, neither the fixed stars"; to this Mrs. Piozzi replied: "I am not yet convinc'd yet the Maculae seem Proofs of ye new Doctrine." Again, she underlined a quotation from Aristotle that "the sun and the stars are not absolutely bodies of fire," with the comment: "I saw a Book once to say they were Bodies of Ice!"

Although she does not discuss in any detail the idea of a plurality of worlds, her comments upon some of Nares's passages suggest at least a sympathetic interest in the conception. She stops over his insistence that it would be "a very extravagant conceit" to believe that men on this globe must "remain a separate community and unconnected with all the rest of the universe," marking the passage, and pondering: "like as the Jews now separated, will be united to the rest of us. will they tho? or will they not." 5 With Paine and Nares, she cannot believe that, in the new expanded cosmos, all the vast heavenly bodies were made for the sake of terrestrial man alone; and at one time she corrects a quotation, "There cannot be any absurdity in saying, that all things were created for the sake of this inferior world, and the inhabitants thereof," by the addition: "All sublunary Things were so created I do believe." 6 Her longest and most vehement comment upon the new ideas is with regard to this same subject. Nares had been disturbed to find in Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, a work for which he had otherwise great respect, the suggestion that belief in the

² P. 91. ² P. 387 n. ³ P. 126 n. ⁴ P. 125. ⁵ P. 37 n. ⁶ P. 15 n.

⁷ John Parkhurst, An Hebrew and English Lexicon, without points . . . To this work is prefixed A Methodical Hebrew Grammar without points . . . also the Hebrew Grammar at one view (London, 1762; other editions, 1778, 1792, 1799, 1807). Parkhurst was one of the disciples of John Hutchinson. His Hebrew Lexicon is much more than its title implies, for it contains an important body of illustrative material drawn from travel and literature, as well as close study of Scripture.

habitation of other worlds is an "amusing and delusive dream." Mrs. Piozzi was no respecter of Parkhurst or the Hutchinsonians; she writes vigorously at this point:

Parkhurst is too hot a Hutchinsonian by half.... If as he says & Baker 3 thinks, the Newtonian, Copernican, & old Pythagoraean Hypotheses will end in mere Somnium Astronomicum let them only just watch the Evolutions of Jupiter's Satellites one Week [and] ask themselves at y° End of that Week, whether it is possible that those Moons cd be made for Men? to whom they are not only useless but *Invisible*.— as they must needs be that out of 750 Millions of Human Beings 300 is [th]e greatest Number, that ever can have beheld the Phaenomenon—while dwelling in the Midst of their Brethren.4

Interested though she might be in the "new science," as these comments show, science was far from holding first place in Mrs. Piozzi's mind. Having for a time sought the new heavens with Paine and Nares, having pondered on the stimulus which science had given to human imagination, Mrs. Piozzi is abruptly reminded of the danger of man's considering too curiously. The comment which leads her to return to "sublunary Things," and to reflect rather on the whole duty of man, is a passage in which Nares, feeling that he is perhaps inquiring into the inexplicable, introduces a quotation from Pascal. Nares had paused to reflect: "How momentaneously, by chemical precipitation, may a deposition be made, which mechanically would require a large portion of time" — against which Mrs. Piozzi noted: "very true and well urged." Consideration of the problem led Nares to say, "Let us

³ Thomas Baker, antiquary and correspondent of many of the chief scholars of the day, published anonymously his chief work (to which Mrs. Piozzi here refers), Reflections on Learning (1700), which went through many editions. He, like the Hutchinsonians, was an

anti-Copernican and an anti-Newtonian.

¹ P. 14 n.

² John Hutchinson, author of *Moses's Principia* (1724) and other works, founded a sect which took its departure from the idea that Newton's doctrines were of dangerous consequence to religion. They stimulated a long controversy over the newer geological theories, taking their stand with Burnet and Woodward. They also established a school which held to the printing and reading of Hebrew, "without points," holding that Scripture, thus read, upheld their interpretations. Hutchinson's chief followers were Duncan Forbes, John Parkhurst, Bishop George Horne, and William Jones of Nayland, all of whom agreed in a highly symbolic interpretation of Scripture.

^{4 &#}x27;ÊΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, p. 14 n. Mrs. Piozzi's marginalia on pp. 14-15 are somewhat mutilated.

be modest," and to add the quotation from Pascal: "Tout est obscurité dans nos petits laboratoires, et nous voudrions conclure comment a été fait l'univers." Mrs. Piozzi, remembering, doubtless, that pride of man which is a constant refrain of the eighteenth century, wrote against Nares's "Let us be modest": "That we never are: but this French Quotation is admirable; for as Paschal says every thing in our own Laboratory exceeds our Comprehension, & yet we will keep on trying to comprehend how God made the universe." Then, in a separate paragraph, her feeling overflows: "I, H. L. Piozzi do from my Soul abhor & condemn these Studies; produced from the rotten Fruit of the old Forbidden Tree. We were sent hither (after Adam's Fall & Punishment,) to till the Earth & not examine it. Our Business is to labour — we are not properly now Contemplative Beings." It is the old cry of St. Paul and St. Augustine: "Man by nature, man as he is man, is corrupt and fallen"; it is the persistence of that spirit of "knowledge within bounds," against which Paine revolted and which, he declared, had for centuries kept man from scientific progress; "in Adam's fall we sinnéd all," and the expiation of our sin, for some reason, must consist, not only in earning our bread by the sweat of our brow, but in keeping our eyes upon the ground which we till, and not searching into those "mysteries" of nature, knowledge of which belongs to God alone. To this theme, and this conception of man's nature since the Fall, Mrs. Piozzi returns several times. In response to a quotation from one of Clarke's sermons, "All rational beings whatsoever, capable of good and evil, of obedience and disobedience, must be created originally in a state of trial and probation," Mrs. Piozzi declares: "I don't like must, but yet it certainly does appear as if good & evil were given for Rational Creatures to chuse out of - as we cannot find any thing to exercise ye reasoning Power upon, excepting Good & Evil." 2 The same idea occurs a few pages farther on, in connection with a passage in which Nares raises the question whether man was ever, even in the state of his innocence, "perfect in the sight of God," and inclines to doubt the possibility of absolute perfection in "the creature." Mrs. Piozzi agrees, "very true," and adds:

& I am not confident that they were made reasoners till they eat the Fruit which suited them so ill. — They were made happy Creatures, &

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–18.

² P. 17 n.

made themselves wretched ones, by prefering Knowlege to Immortality—had they taken the Tree of Life 1.th perhaps, they might have been strengthened to support those Pains which the other has bestowed upon us all so liberally—but Lucifer being tempted by Pride & losing his Station—from having chosen Evil rather [than] Good: God created Man in Ignorance that he might be happy—but he would not.

A later reference to "a UNIVERSE OF WORLDS, all of them the seats and habitations of *rational* and *peccable* beings," leads Mrs. Piozzi, characteristically, to ponder upon "rational and peccable beings" rather than upon universes of worlds:

It appears to me y^t if God makes rational Creatures, they must be peccable ones: because Reason can (as it seems to me) be exerted only in a Choice between Good & Evil . . . & if they make a wrong Choice That is Sin. our Parents prefer'd Knowledge to Life — and their first Science seems to have been Metaphysics — their earliest Opinion — Fatalism. The Woman lays her Fault upon the Serpent. The Man accuses God of harsh Dealing: — "The Woman whom thou gavest to be with me," &c.²

Scripture, rather than science, was the ultimate source for Mrs. Piozzi.³ "The Bible," she declares in one of her marginalia, to a passage in which Nares was laboring to make his scientific conceptions consistent with the first chapter of Genesis, "was giv'n to shew us the way to Heav'n, but not to shew us how yt Heav'n was constructed." And a comment of Nares that, "considering all things, it is really a miracle that we are in possession of such documents as those of holy writ," stimulates Mrs. Piozzi to write a signed note:

That is the truest Word in this book. When you consider the hebrew Text or rather the *original* Text of what

¹ P. 19 n. ² Pp. 296-97.

³ Mrs. Piozzi's knowledge of the Bible, as shown both in these marginalia and elsewhere, was broad, her allusions apt. In commenting upon a statement of Nares's (p. 335), "The Apostle... comforts the Gentile converts of Ephesus, by assuring them, that they were as much considered in the decrees of God... as ever the Jews were," Mrs. Piozzi says: "yes, yes; but yo Syrophoenician Woman found herself particularly favour'd for having acknowledged that Gentiles were to the true Israelites, but as a Dog is compar'd with a Child in the Eyes of the Head of his Family. Her Belief was right, & saved her Daughter's Life."

4 P. 104.

we now call Hebrew, one *undivided* continuation of characters from the Ist of Genesis to the last of Malachi

It was by a Miracle that it ever became legible — so far as *I can find*.

Among the many orthodox scriptural ideas which Mrs. Piozzi accepted, that of the final dissolution of all things haunted her mind particularly, as several of her casual references have shown. She paused over a passage of "the learned Mr. King," who was "exceedingly unwilling to believe, that the stars shall come to an end at what we call the end of the world," underlined the phrase, "unwilling to believe," and added thoughtfully, "so am I - & yet!!!" Nares, while he never doubted the ultimate dissolution of this world, felt that the final cataclysm could not and would not extend to the vast plurality of worlds. Mrs. Piozzi's last note but one has to do with the theme of a plurality of worlds, though of a different sort from that Nares conceived. This note takes its origin from a passage of the kind of symbolism in which both Nares and the Hutchinsonians delighted, an excursus upon the "mystic number Seven" 3—its significance as seen in the seven churches, the seven candlesticks, the seven spirits, and elsewhere.4 On a separate sheet of paper, which she inserted between two pages,5 Mrs. Piozzi wrote:

shd. rather (when dreaming) dream yt that [sic] they were typical of the seven relative Positions of our own Globe as class'd into

The

Theological Astronomical Political Moral Natural Civil Social

When these are all destroy'd & their Elements Constituent Parts

Conflagration.

P. 121. P. 69 n. P. 3 P. 387 n.
It is here that she mentions that there are more than seven planets; see above, p. 127.

⁵ Pp. 386–87. The corner of the paper is torn.

As Mrs. Piozzi's penultimate note, starting from the conception of a plurality of worlds, becomes a reflection upon this great globe which shall dissolve,

And like the insubstantial pageant faded,

Leave not a rack behind,

her final pondering is upon the little world of man, and the end, not of that world, but of man himself. At the conclusion of his volume, Nares, considering that universal problem, had written: "But, when the end of all things shall not only be at hand, but shall have begun to take effect, the events will be decisive: we shall no longer have to learn how to act under them; all will depend on the preparation we may before have made to meet them." Against this passage, Mrs. Piozzi's "vigorous, black manuscript" appears for the last time: "yes, yes, we shall — or else how does it come like a Thief in the Night? — tho' expected — it will come suddenly." ¹

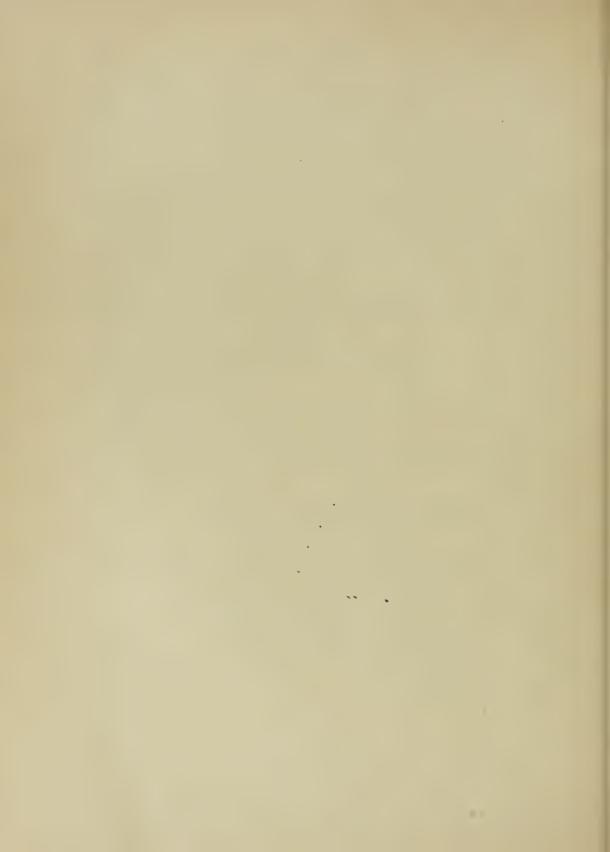
Random and casual as these marginalia are, they are not without significance in assisting the historian of ideas to test a climate of opinion. Their author was a woman of more than average education, of broad, if not deep, reading; on the whole, conservative in her theological opinions, yet with an inquiring mind. These are reflections upon movements in thought which, while directly derived from Nares, and indirectly from Paine, nevertheless are the heritage of a long controversy between the "new science" and theology, which Bacon prophesied in the Advancement of Learning, and which the course of two centuries had developed. One extreme of the reaction is to be seen in Paine and his disciples, who, faced with the clash, threw aside traditional theology and accepted science; the opposite extreme shows itself in that group of adversaries who - like the Aristotelians who refused to look through Galileo's telescope - denied the evidence of science, doggedly clinging to revelation. Between the two groups stood men like Nares, who, responding to the imaginative appeal of science, yet reverent toward traditional theology, strove to reconcile science and religion, feeling that science had expanded not only the cosmos but the whole conception of deity, and that an undevout astronomer must indeed be mad.

¹ P. 401.

But of all the varying responses to the new conceptions, perhaps those of Mrs. Piozzi are most characteristic of the average man and woman in a period of intellectual conflict. She followed the obvious discoveries of science, as does the intelligent layman in any generation; she was willing to read, to think, to discuss the new ideas; she was interested enough to annotate the volume which she read. Momentarily, her imagination responded to the stimulus of some of the most radical of these ideas; but, the moment past, tradition sometimes common sense! — recalls her to her orthodox training. In the last analysis, interesting as are these new ideas, they are not, the intelligent layman seems to say, of profound importance; or they are theories, well enough to ponder but not ultimately capable of proof. Let us return to a safer, more circumscribed world of the morality and the theology in which we have grown up, remembering comfortably that right and wrong have been established by tradition, that there is a place to which we may turn to find that "Good & Evil" upon which men and women like Mrs. Piozzi base their ethics. Mrs. Piozzi's position, indeed, is curiously similar to that of Milton's angel, whose author, momentarily swept away by the vast concepts of the "new astronomy," permitted his angelic visitant — and his pupil, Man to ponder these same ideas of other worlds and other rational inhabitants, then abruptly recalled himself and his characters, and his readers, to the problem of the world in which man must live, and to the whole duty of man:

Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid:
Leave them to God above; him serve and fear . . .
Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there. Be lowly wise;
Think only what concerns thee and thy being;
Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
Live, in what state, condition, or degree . . .
learn
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom.

¹ Paradise Lost, Bk. VIII, ll. 167-94.



William Blake, Painter¹

By C. H. COLLINS BAKER

IKE us, Blake was unfortunate in belonging to an age of skepticism. We might debate on the balance sheet of his profit and loss due to opposition and the struggle to survive in face of it; but we cannot doubt that the final figure is adverse. During his youth and early manhood a few English painters and sculptors were discovering in Italy the relics of a time when artists had expressed sublime ideals with staggering power. Those artists of long-past golden ages seemed to have moved naturally in an air in which strong belief in deep spiritual things, or in a titanic cosmos, was taken for granted. Whatever their personal beliefs, they were close enough, in time and temper, to an age that had believed strongly in things transcending intellect and reason, to retain much of the emotion and high imagination that such belief makes possible in man.

Our English artists reaching Italy, like timid rustics entering an assembly of exquisite, age-long polish and accomplishment, were overcome by a display of sublimity, assurance, and achievement undreamed of. A few of them, rising above the contemporary admiration for the Bolognese, concentrated their enthusiasm on Michelangelo and Raphael, and were amazed. But having in their nature an inherited materialism; in their racial heritage lacking the inrooted tradition of a grand style for the expression of noble themes, and with no sublime or spiritual ferment in their hearts, struggling to escape into expression, they could do little more than gape. Try as they would to catch the sublimity revealed, they might but sound a hollow melodrama, which the clever leaders of taste, in that rational time,

douched with jeers and wit.

Blake, from his childhood conscious of uneasy ferment within, came to artistic manhood in this arid reign of reason. Where, in a more propitious time and environment, he would have found accept-

This paper was designed as a lecture at the opening of an exhibition of Blake's illustrations to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

ance, he encountered skepticism and mockery; whereas in Florence or Siena he would have taken his natural place in the line of tradition and training, in London he had to make pitiful shift with what scraps of secondhand learning he could assemble; and it is astonishing how he did succeed in breathing into that assemblage of odds and ends a lovely or terrible soul. In an age of profound belief Blake, the most truly imaginative and impassioned artist that had appeared since Botticelli, would have normally expressed the quintessence of his age's belief and imagination. In the age to which he had been destined, the resistance of skepticism, and the distracting energy needed to combat extraneous difficulties, undoubtedly drove him in upon himself, making him combatively self-conscious of his difference. So delicately poised is the nervous sensitiveness of artistic genius that we cannot estimate what effect frustration, and consequent self-consciousness, will have on it.

We, too, are products of an age of disillusionment and skepticism. It is almost indelicate to speak of emotion and high imagination, of faith or spiritual conviction. On the other hand, it is safe and modish to "debunk" once-cherished beliefs in these and kindred superstitions. Wise in our own negative views (we have not enough conviction to be true cynics) and playing, as we hope, for critical safety, we would suggest that man was never really moved by unselfish, genuine idealism, and that the most serious function of history is to dissolve all spiritual values in laughter. The substitute for a confession of faith is "wisecrackery"; for understanding, "debunkery." Spoilsports may question whether our criticism be not facile misjudgment, the archenemy of historical integrity, and wonder if the laughs that we have earned so cheaply will console our successors, who must demolish so much of what we have flippantly thrown together, before starting where we began. I should hate to spoil the sport of any hopeful audience; but I must say at once that it is not my ambition to "debunk" Blake nor, "flashing" the wisdom of our world, to emit a single "wisecrack" at the expense of even so divine a thing as artistic genius.

The more one studies the development and woven fabric of Blake's pictorial expression, the more curious and remarkable they appear. Unlike most of the great masters, he cannot be fitted into an orderly chronological progression of influences and performance. No close

study of his development has yet been published; and this afternoon is certainly not the most appropriate occasion for attempting one. But, without some understanding of this development, Blake would seem an inexplicable phenomenon, appearing from nowhere, and entirely independent of antecedents and environment. In painting, as I think in literature, this kind of phenomenon is no longer credible. As briefly as may be, therefore, I will offer some explanation of the strangely different strands that Blake picked—here, there, and everywhere—to weave into the complex fabric of his utterance. That utterance, always pregnant, is sometimes absurd, sometimes turgid, obscure, and, to us, grotesque. But more often—and this is how great artists should be judged—it burns with intense spiritual light, made

palpable by a masterly expression of lovely or terrible power.

Blake was born in 1757, in London — the son of a fairly prosperous hosier. At the age of ten he joined the drawing school of Henry Pars, draughtsman and engraver, whose younger brother, William, had just come back from Greece with the drawings for Richard Chandler's Ionian Antiquities, one of the earliest publications of Greek art in England. Possibly some inkling of the style revealed by these drawings percolated to the smallest scholar in Pars's school. This Greco-Roman influence is one strand in the fabric that I am trying to analyze. We are told that while still with Pars the child frequented picture auctions, to study their contents (there was no National Gallery then), and to acquire parcels of engravings after Raphael, Dürer, Michelangelo, and others. These are other strands. In 1771, aged fourteen, he was apprenticed to the house of Basire, the engravers, of which at that time James Basire I was the chief agent. At this particular date Benjamin West's Pylades and Orestes was being engraved in Basire's shop — another neoclassical item that may have impinged on young Blake's attention. Some years before, Basire had engraved "Athenian" Stuart's Antiquities of Athens; possibly, stray plates of the work still lay about the premises. These possible opportunities for Blake to see something of Greek art with the susceptible eyes of youth are worth noting, because, as I said, one strong element in his style was an adaptation of classic art, which seemed to him addressed, not to mere reason, but to "the imagination, which is spiritual sensation." Even thirty years later he thought that "The immense flood of Grecian light and glory which is coming on Europe will more than realize

our warmest wishes."

I referred to the lack in England of an artistic tradition of grand style for the expression of noble themes — partially explaining the impotence of English painters who essayed abruptly to graft sublimity onto English painting. With characteristic singularity, Blake took the only course open to an English artist in search of such national tradition, by harking back to the great period of English Gothic sculpture. This is the clue to the most important and absorbing influence on his style. Much of his seven years' apprenticeship to Basire was spent in drawing carvings and monumental effigies in Westminster Abbey and other London churches. It is, moreover, significant that in Basire's shop were engraved the great publications of English antiquities — Vetusta Monumenta, and Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, in which Blake's hand has been identified. This inhalation of the Gothic spirit, at so impressionable an age, was of supreme importance to Blake's

artistic expression.

By this time, then, he had studied the antique in Pars's school and an undetermined number of styles in a mass of engravings after Raphael, Michelangelo, Dürer, Guilio Romano, and Martin Heemskerck. He may also have looked at engravings, if not drawings, of recent discoveries of classic art. In 1773 he engraved his own design of "Joseph of Arimathea," adapted, we are told, from a figure in Michelangelo's "Crucifixion of S. Peter"; inspirations, or motifs, from Michelangelo and Raphael will frequently be found embedded in his work. From about now till 1778, when he was twenty-one, he worked in the gloom and sun shafts, the isolation and echoing hush, of the Abbey, steeping himself in the "feel" of thirteenth- and fourteenthcentury sculptures: their profusion of ornament; their springing lines; the inscrutability of time-fretted faces, whose sightless eyes stare through the silent half-light with infinite comprehension of ancient mysteries; the rigid bulk and architectural severity of their forms and draperies; the grotesque fury or suffering in misericords, gargoyles, and bosses; the eternal calm of sleeping figures and the piercing beauty of angels' wings. From this communion, chiefly, came Blake's creations of old, Druidic men who are Raphael's Loggie figures - the Creator and the Patriarchs — harshened and petrified by the drip of Gothic impressions, transfigured by the bardic mysticism which filled Blake's mind. From his saturation with Gothic came the monolithic stature and rigidity of his great "Job" figures, that remind us of Giotto; the grotesque of his inventions in *Urizen*; much of the glorious significance of his gestures, and the foundation of certain of his types. He also assimilated, from fragments of wall paintings in the Abbey,

the special linear vitality of English Gothic design.

I mentioned Blake's bardic mysticism. From his boyhood the Celtic movement had been active in English literature, beginning with Gray (whose Bard Blake illustrated early in, and towards the close of, his first period) and William Mason's Caractacus, and proceeding to the doubtful splendors of MacPherson's Ossianic sagas. Blake's fervent acceptance of this Celtic revelation goes far to explain his friend Frederick Tatham's description of him as he emerged from his reclusive life in Westminster Abbey. "His imagination ever after wandered as if in a cloister, or, clothing itself in the dark stole of mural sanctity, it dwelt amidst the Druid terrors. His mind being simplified by Gothic forms, and his fancy imbued with the livid twilight of past days, it chose for its quaint company such sublime but antiquated associates as the fearful Merlin. Arthur and his Knights—and every other hero of English history and romance. These indigenous abstractions for many years tinctured his thoughts and perceptions."

After a short studentship in the Academy Schools, about 1778-79 Blake resumed his craft of engraving, which, with what he had acquired by drawing the antique and a little life, gave him that considerable equipment of academic draughtsmanship which comes and goes throughout his work. He engraved many of his friend Stothard's illustrations — another influence to note in our consideration of Blake's diverse facets, for the rather insipid elegance of Stothard's style, so characteristic of that period, may well have served Blake for

some of his essays in a lighter vein.

The difficulty of fitting his development into a straight chronological chart is already encountered in 1780, when he invented his "Glad Day," that radiant young Apollo, which heralds the bright

Many years later he drew a "visionary portrait" of this hero: it is now, with others, in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

² This figure is best-known in the color-printed drawing of about 1795. How much this differs from the first invention I cannot say.

imagination and vivid gesture of his greatest period. Had he this lovely (and, I think, unprecedented) conception in mind when, in 1804, he spoke of "the light I enjoyed in my youth" having been closed from him for twenty years? He began exhibiting at the Academy in 1780, in the manner, we are told, of John Hamilton Mortimer, who indulged in grotesque imaginings, tame portraits, theatrical scenes, and historical subjects. This was, fortunately, a transient influence. In 1784 Blake showed in the Academy his "Breach in a City," a gaunt, desolate water color, with the grandeur of large mural painting, exhibiting the epic feeling for landscape that informs his Dante drawings forty years later, his "Famine" (1805), and "The Hiding of Moses" (now in the Huntington Library). If a little of Romney's classic style may be perceptible in the forms, the spirit seems to be pure Blake. Next year, in three little pictures of "Joseph and His Brethren," we see Blake thinking of Raphael's design in the Loggie. These "Joseph" drawings, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, have an exceptionally compact, rhythmic design, and if we recall the stage characterization of typical pictures of that period - by Stothard, Angelica Kauffmann, William Hamilton, Northcote, and West we shall notice the naïve vitality of the emotions expressed by the characters in them.

Within the next few years—a time of deep emotional disturbance —he produced some of his most mystic, and one of his greatest (indeed, I may say, quite soberly, one of the greatest), imaginings in pictorial art, his "Elohim Creating Adam." What is imagination? Is it not, ultimately, the power of identifying oneself profoundly with the deepest truth of assumed actuality — as though, by the power of comprehension, one should experience the divine travail and pent effort that the Creator underwent in molding man from the dust of the earth, where no man had been, and in imparting to him life and soul? Poets with their words can suggest such mysteries: "And he stretched himself upon the child three times, and cried unto the Lord and said, 'O Lord my God, I pray thee let this child's soul come into him again.' And the Lord heard the voice of Elijah, and the soul of the child came into him again and he revived." In connection with the "Creation of Adam" we cannot but think of Michelangelo's conception, in the Sistine Chapel - of his Creator swooping through the

firmament and, with one omnipotent touch, calling into being that godlike Adam, a miracle of athletic beauty. The power and glory of that work are supreme; but its imagination is merely physical compared with Blake's conception of the spirit of God moving upon the face of the dark waters, tense and rapt in creation; of man's agony of slow emergence from the earth; of the Lord breathing into him the

breath of life, so that he became a living soul.

Blake used to refer mysteriously to visions of Egyptian art; some have speculated whether anything oriental lay behind this design of Elohim. But to account for it we need not go so far. In his design Blake likely had in mind an amalgam of Raphael's and Michelangelo's "Creators," in their pictures of "God Dividing the Waters from the Earth," and the reliefs on the Temple of the Winds in Athens, which, probably, he knew through prints or drawings. All this was assimilated in terms of Norman or Gothic sculpture, and, by Blake's

own comprehension, distilled as pure Blake.

To this troubled period, too, belong his books of Urizen, Los, and Ahania, in which great disturbing figures loom, imaging the characters of his symbolic sagas. I can but dimly apprehend deep, secret things, whose truth and value must have been tremendous in Blake's mind. His "Nebuchadnezzar," also, is of this time — 1795. Surely no such comprehension of the horror of conscious madness has been expressed. The suggestion for the outcast king's pose came from the little figure in the mid-distance of Dürer's engraved "Anchoretism of S. John Chrysostom," in which the head is in profile. Next year he illustrated Young's Night Thoughts, on pages of 16 x 12 inches, of which $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches are filled by the printed poem. He therefore had only narrow surrounding slips for his use. These absurd margins of course handicapped him heavily; but it is surprising what sense of vastness he sometimes achieved, as, for instance, in "Death Quenching the Stars" and "The Sun Hiding His Face," in which one of its first appearances is made by Blake's "Pale Horse," derived from classic sources, perhaps Flaxman's Iliad or Odyssey drawings.

In the Night Thoughts illustrations, we see, here and there, a new attempt on Blake's part: to render figures in the somewhat extravagant action that we associate with Fuseli, whom Blake admired as a painter and loved as a friend. Is Fuseli another source of Blake's raw

material? He was older by some ten years, and had been exhibiting at the Royal Academy six years before Blake. Among his exhibits were pictures that Walpole considered extravagant, ridiculous, and mad. From about 1786 onward, Blake must have been familiar with Boydell's "Shakespeare Gallery," in which Shakespeare subject pictures accumulated from the easels of all the prominent painters in England. This was the first combined effort by English painters, since the Wars of the Roses, to produce monumental historical work; and let me remind you that exhibitions of any kind in England were barely a quarter of a century old in 1786, and that subject painting was no older. Fuseli's pictures were easily the most spirited and, on the whole, most technically accomplished. There is no doubt that Blake borrowed from them details of type and pose, including extravagant action. On the other hand, Fuseli confessed that Blake "is damned good to steal from" — so that some of the weightier material in his pictures may have been thus "conveyed." 1

In this context let us not overlook that in those days, as in these, current artistic interests reacted on living painters' styles. Classic art was a "new movement," towards the close of the eighteenth century; drawings and engravings of Grecian and Greco-Roman bas-reliefs and vases must have been, for painters, mines of pose and action. Flaxman was illustrating Homer from material acquired in Italy in 1787–94, and there seems no reason to doubt that in 1795 Blake engraved his Odysseus drawings (as well as some of the Iliad), thus collecting motifs that recur in his own work.² From 1780 Flaxman had been

r An interesting problem concerning the relation of Blake and Fuseli is presented by a drawing of "The Lazar House," reproduced in Mona Wilson's The Life of William Blake (London, 1927), facing page seventy. There it is ascribed to Blake and reference is made (p. 313) to the other, obviously connected, "Lazar House" (1795), the color-printed drawing, by Blake, in the Graham Robertson Collection (Darrell Figgis, The Paintings of William Blake [London, 1925], pl. 73). The reproduction in Mona Wilson's book irresistibly suggests Fuseli's authorship. I cannot yet say if there be any connection between this drawing and Fuseli's large painting of "The Lazar House," included in his Milton Gallery (opened 1799), which is, or was, at Wroxton Abbey. Most of his Milton pictures were strikingly different from Blake's. In Blake's work resemblant designs occur in his "Breach in a City" (1784) and in "Death of the Strong Wicked Man" (1806), one of his illustrations to Blair's The Grave. In the last there is a clear reminiscence of the Magdalen in Annibale Carracci's "Dead Christ," bought from the Orleans Gallery by Lord Carlisle, ca. 1792. It was engraved in the Orleans catalogue.

² An important example of Blake's adaptation or conversion of such material is his

Blake's friend, and we may assume that Blake had opportunities of studying his sketchbooks, which bore the fruit of seven years' wide study throughout Italy. As late as 1817 he engraved Flaxman's *Hesiod* illustrations.

Blake, as we have noted, left the Academy Schools about 1779. In 1782 he married Catherine Boucher. One of his colleagues at Basire's had been Catherine Basire, who engraved some plates in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. Perhaps this suggested to Blake that his Kate, too, should learn the art — as, in fact, she did. Her infinite patience and belief in her husband were of incalculable worth to his mental and artistic well-being. He might have found more efficient studio assistants, though even this is doubtful when we reflect upon his special need of sympathy. For the difficult childishness, however, that is an essence of Blake's genius, I do not suppose that any other life-long companion would have had the faith and sustenance in which this understanding and devoted Kate abounded.

In 1800, at William Hayley's invitation, the Blakes went to Felpham, on the Sussex coast, where three years of much disappointment and wasted time were passed. In 1803 they returned to London. Blake, however, felt that this break in his life had regenerated his art and that he had "recollected all his scattered thoughts on art, and resumed his primitive and original ways of execution." An interesting light is cast on the starvation of English artists, before the National Gallery was founded, by the profound effect on Blake of a chance exhibition in London, in 1803, of Old Masters — Italian, Flemish, German, and Dutch — belonging to a Count Truchsess, of Vienna. Coming away from this show in 1804, Blake was suddenly "again enlightened with the light I enjoyed in my youth and which has for ex-

figure of Sin, daughter of Satan and mother of Death, who, in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery drawings of "Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell," prevents their combat. She is evidently derived from an illustration of Scylla in the Odyssey.

¹ See Alexander Gilchrist, Life of William Blake (London, 1880), I, 216–18; W. T. Whitley, Art in England, 1800–1820 (Cambridge, 1928), p. 63; Mona Wilson, Life of William Blake, pp. 173–74. In the Huntington Library set of Blake's drawings for Milton's "Hymn for the Nativity" (earlier, I think, than the set in the Manchester Whitworth Institute), a recollection of Flemish primitives is suggested — perhaps noted in the Truchsess Gallery; in his Blair's Grave illustration of the "Last Judgment," a touch of the Brueghel grotesque is present.

actly 20 years been closed from me." Most of the pictures probably

were mediocre, but among them Blake found revelation.

How puzzling is his statement: as though the fever of spiritual passion which haunts his great works of the middle nineties - his "Nebuchadnezzar," "Urizen," "Satan Exulting over Eve," the "Murder of Abel," the "Lazar House," and many more - had been a malign possession. In his illustrations to Blair's Grave, in 1806, and Milton's Paradise Lost, in 1807, we discern a changed spirit that is manifested now in simple, sculpturesque lines and curves, and pale color—whereas the old, troubled spirit had declared itself in flamelike, jagged forms. In the Paradise Lost series, as was pointed out to me by Mrs. Baker (to whose help this lecture owes much), the color and tonality suggest that Blake was thinking of marble or alabaster figures. We now enter a world of gentle beings and still serenity, where in 1795 we had found tragic suffering in an atmosphere shot with lurid lights. Henceforth, one may say, Blake was happier in calm than in turbulent interpretation. He had passed through the fire and, like so many of the great seers - Rembrandt, for example - has come forth into a period of equanimity: not the surface calm of ignorance, but that of experience and poise.

When he has need of passion to express passionate themes, he commands his old experience, or uses again a design that had been wrought of anguish, under old stress. For example, in our *Paradise Lost* set there are two versions of "Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell"; the larger, I suspect, was drawn in the torment of the late 1790's and repeated, less strikingly, in 1807. In the great "Job" series of 1822, also, we have "Satan Smiting Job" reproduced from a more terrible paint-

ing in the Tate Gallery, done, I-think, some years before.

Undoubtedly the greatest expression of Blake's genius is his "Book of Job," drawn when he was sixty-five. All his imagination (that power of self-identification with the deepest spiritual truth of the actuality assumed) is here crystallized. Its gamut includes the unearthly rapture of the Morning Stars and the Sons of God, shouting for joy; the dreadful comprehension of Job smitten with leprosy ("my face is foul with weeping, and on my eyelids is the shadow of death; my flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust, my skin is broken and become loathsome"); the awful majesty of God speaking from the



"Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell"



whirlwind; the transcendent expression of the supernatural (equaled only by Rembrandt's drawing of the "Supper at Emmaus") in the "Vision of Eliphaz"; and the monstrous troubling of Job's sleep. In expressing this range of emotion, the aging master is no longer tormented by his own imagining, nor "over-dazzled by emotion," but asserts dominion over them. "He stands serene, and watches the feeling as it were from afar off."

No painter has equaled Blake's genius for gesture. By that I mean, not only the vitally significant action of limbs, but also that of stance. I mean the arresting significance of sharp-cut design, shape, mass, and silhouette. To my mind the closest parallels with Blake's use of gesture are the ballets invented by Massine in his maturity — his "Présage" and "Choreartium" — in which, with of course far greater resources, he charges shapes and action with lyric and epic meaning.

Though Blake had not reached full mastery of gesture in 1807, when he drew the Huntington Library Paradise Lost series, these drawings show, in many instances, his understanding of it as the vehicle of various emotions. In the "Creation of Eve," not only the august, controlling gesture of the Creator's arm, but the very spacing of the figures, and the intervals between them and at each side, enhance the mood of this conception. Again we must think of Michelangelo and Raphael in the Vatican: the former's Eve, opulent in form, seems to cringe before her maker; the latter's, a delightful nymph, eyes Adam with rather bashful coquetry. Both are fully physical. But Blake's Eve is yet half spirit, rising, as in a dream, into the primal world. The trance of Adam; the spacing of the figures against the dim-lit sky; the low horizon, "heaped and dim" — weave a spell of silence, bringing to us the very magic of that still dawn when, in holy solitude, God and the woman participated in that mystic creation.

Another supreme instance of Blake's use of gesture, in this series, is "Christ Offering to Redeem Man." The masterly skill of this design is self-evident; it is a masterpiece of which Fra Angelico would have been proud. The main structure, of an inverted arch, recalls the nave of Wells Cathedral. Satan, "coasting the wall of Heaven," glides beneath the cloud-fringed opening of Heaven. The symbolic gesture of the Son is poignant with ecstasy of self-sacrifice; the bowed head of God and the loving clasp of his hands make palpable the Father's bit-

ter sorrow in acceptance of the sacrifice. The swoop of the angels, casting their golden crowns before his feet, is as perfect in its imagery as in its design-function of emphasizing and clarifying the central mass and crucial lines. The pattern of the Father's figure, by the way, oc-

curs, eleven years earlier, in the book of Ahania.

In "Raphael Warns Adam and Eve," we see this genius of gesture in the lambent figure of Raphael, who is one of Blake's most lyrical inventions in design: like to a perfect phrase in music. Blake would convey the celestial beauty of the winged seraph and his supernal quality of movement, as that of living flame. There is no line in the rhythms of this design, culminating in the piercing tips of the closed pinions, but is essential.

I know no truer estimate of Blake than this, written thirty years ago, about one of the drawings in this room before us — the "Creation

of Eve":

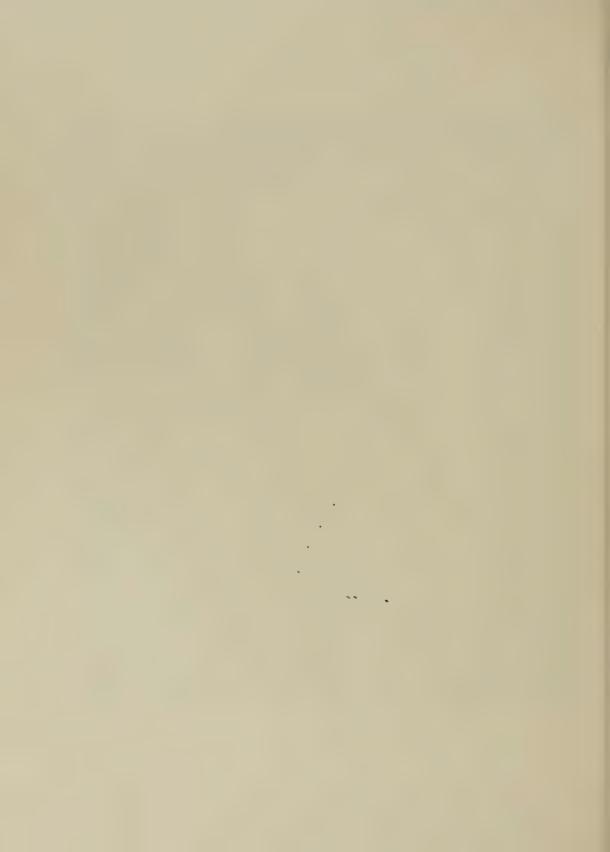
He envelops the scene in the atmosphere of dawning beauty, of youthful human freshness, which befits the birth of the human race in Paradise. It is to Giotto and Fra Angelico that we must go for figures of such noble, simple sincerity; and even there we shall hardly find the same mystic charm of air and space, a charm to which the nearest analogy is to be found in the great religious art of China and Japan. There, indeed, we find the same sense of awe, of high and distant mystery, of purity, of monumental calm; but we shall seek in vain for the lively human spirit that must be present too if the creation of woman is to be a verity eternally convincing. It is because Blake in his fortunate moments combines the fire of a prophet, the purity of a child and the knowledge of a man, that all things become possible to him, and the moments when his power worked less evenly are forgotten and annulled.

The rest of Blake's life was as fully occupied with large schemes. The "Job" series, finished about 1825, was immediately followed by a Paradise Regained set, which was unfinished when he embarked on his ninety-eight designs for Dante's Divina Commedia. For this vast enterprise he learned Italian. He died in August, 1827, leaving the Dante drawings incomplete. I saw these last, in their entirety, in 1918, at the sale of the collection of Blake's young friend and generous

¹ [C. J. Holmes, in] Burlington Magazine, X, 293.



"RAPHAEL WARNS ADAM AND EVE"



patron, the painter John Linnell. Their chief quality is not, I think, psychological (in the way that the "Job" series is psychological), but elemental. Why, I cannot explain; but in these drawings Blake has developed an interpretative expression of landscape, unique at that date. Superb as some of the figures are, the grandest of his illustrations are those in which the mood of sky or sea or mountain landscape predominates. Blake was, I think, unable to interpenetrate Dante's creations with the comprehension of his "Job" drawings. His imagination had not yet attained self-identification with its new theme.

The series (ca. 1807, with one exception) of Blake's illustrations to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, is composed of thirteen water-color drawings, as follows:

1. Satan Calling His Legions. $9\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{5}{16}$ in. Another drawing $(20\frac{1}{4} \times 15\frac{3}{8}$ in.) of this scene, by Blake, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, roughly corresponds with the center part of the Huntington drawing.

2a. Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell. 9\frac{3}{4} x 8\frac{3}{16} in.

2b. Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell. 19½ x 15½ in. (Illus.) This larger

drawing is exceptional and earlier in date.

3. Christ Offers to Redeem Man. $10\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. A similar, elaborated, drawing $(19\frac{1}{5} \times 15\frac{3}{10}$ in.) is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In this the principal difference is that Christ's face is turned profile left, whereas in the Huntington version it is hidden. The Boston series is dated 1808.

4. Satan's and Raphael's Entries into Paradise. $9\frac{7}{8} \times 8$ in.

5. Satan Watches Adam and Eve. Similar drawings are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston ($19\frac{1}{5} \times 15\frac{3}{10}$ in.), and the National Gallery, Melbourne (20 x $15\frac{1}{2}$ in.); a third ($10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in.) was in the Sydney Morse sale, July 26, 1929.

6. Raphael Warns Adam and Eve. $10\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (Illus.) A drawing $(19\frac{1}{5} \times 15\frac{3}{10})$ in.) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts Eve standing between Raphael and Adam, ministering to them at their meal. In this version Raphael wears a crown; in the Huntington version Adam and Eve are seated together on the left.

7. Rout of the Rebel Angels. $10\frac{3}{16} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$ in. A similar, elaborated, drawing $(19\frac{1}{5} \times 15\frac{3}{10})$ in.), in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has considerable with the similar of the s

able differences of pose and detail.

8. Creation of Eve. 10 x $8\frac{3}{16}$ in. A similar, elaborated, drawing (19 $\frac{1}{5}$ x 15 $\frac{3}{10}$ in.), in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has minor differences in pose

and detail. Another version (20 x 16 in.) is now in the National Gallery, Melbourne.

9. Temptation and Fall of Eve. 10 x $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. A similar, elaborated, drawing $(19\frac{1}{5} \times 15\frac{3}{10})$ in.), in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has minor differences in pose, in the background, and in detail.

10. The Judgment of Adam and Eve. 97 x 8 in.

11. Michael Foretells the Crucifixion. 10 x 8 in. A similar, elaborated, drawing $(9\frac{1}{5} \times 14\frac{9}{10})$ in.), in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, differs somewhat in pose and detail; another drawing $(19\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{4})$ in.) is in the collection of Mrs. T. H. Riches.

12. The Expulsion. $9\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{10}$ in. A similar, elaborated, drawing $(9\frac{1}{5} \times 14\frac{9}{10})$ in.), in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has considerable differences

in pose.

The Huntington Library series (with the exception of 2b) was owned by Alfred Aspland in 1876 and by him lent to the Blake exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club that year. The Boston series of nine drawings (the subject of one of them is not included in the Huntington set) was owned by C. J. Strange in 1876 and by him lent to the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition that year. The larger drawing of "Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell" (No. 2b) was in the H. A. J. Munro Sale, 1868.

Letters of Charles Lever To His Wife and Daughter

By FRANKLIN P. ROLFE

Whose narratives customarily move with the velocity though not the momentum of the swiftest pages of Fielding or Smollett, has been left far behind in the race for literary reputation. Yet his modicum of fame seems entirely safe. No history of the English novel omits a faintly patronizing or apologetic reference to his military romances, even if it ignores or condemns his pictures of Irish life. His, too, is the security of a man with five and one-half columns in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and a not uncomplimentary paragraph in the *Cambridge History*. No writer so capably stuffed and mounted is beneath the notice of the student of literature.

Fortunately for the student, however, Charles Lever in the flesh was no stuffed owl. Of the many delightful Victorian men of letters

he was among the gayest.

His ordinary conversation put slow people out of breath. The ideas seemed to come bubbling up from his mind quicker than he could utter... them... Quiet men of no more than average activity of mind or flow of animal spirits enjoyed an hour of Lever as they might an exhibition of fireworks, and, though declaring that it had been delightful, were tired at the end of it. They wanted repose, as the man craves for it who has been whirled along sixty miles in the hour on a railway.

Extensive, naturally, is the Lever legend.

In Ireland he was delighted to find himself the occupant of Templeogue House, the scene of one of Ireland's most picturesque murders, and consequently the possessor of a ghost room. The ghost, it seems,

was the shade of O'Loughlin Murphy, who in the course of an eighteenthcentury orgie had been filled with whiskey by Lord Santry. When the

T. A. Trollope, "Some Recollections of Charles Lever," Lippincott's Magazine, XIV, 715-19: a pleasant account of halcyon days in Italy.

whiskey overflowed the noble lord put a light to Murphy's mouth and made a holocaust of him. Lord Santry was tried for the murder, but it happened that a cousin of his owned the water-supply of Dublin, and threatened to cut off the supply if his relative was hanged. Incredible as it may seem, the Viceroy yielded under the threat, and the life of Lord Santry was spared.¹

It is small wonder that Lever was charmed to live with the ghost of O'Loughlin Murphy, and perhaps — who knows? — that of the in-

genious Lord Santry.

On the Continent, he made one of the most startling of all English progresses, with his carriage and piebald ponies and his beautiful but showily dressed wife and three daughters, all with long, flowing auburn hair. From Baden he carried off the Grand Duke's chef; in Carlsruhe he insulted the Hof Marschall and outraged court etiquette generally. At the Austrian frontier, the officials, unable to place so utterly strange a company, confiscated all Lever's papers. Settling down in Florence, he distinguished himself, among a hundred other ways, by driving his carriage full speed along the crowded Cascine, while his daughters, mounted on the piebald ponies, followed en cavalcade, their red hair streaming in the wind. Those who disliked Lever claimed they took him at first for a circus proprietor. When his consulship forced him to reside at Spezia, he and his eldest daughter Julia further unsettled the Italians by sailing their little boat in all sorts of weather, but when, like Shelley's, it capsized, Lever swam calmly to the nearest shore, while Iulia, with even superior nonchalance, chose a longer route which would bring her to land nearer the Villa Lever.

Life with Charles Lever, one thinks, from these few anecdotes among many, was seldom dull, and one turns, therefore, with considerable anticipation to the collection of some 300 of his letters preserved in the Huntington Library — an anticipation heightened by the fact that these, unlike the already-published reletters to friends, are addressed chiefly to his wife and daughter Julia. The natural expectation is that they will be more frank and revealing than the letters to friends, and as gay as their author. Frank and revealing they are, but

² By Edmund Downey (op. cit.).

¹ Edmund Downey, Charles Lever: His Life in His Letters (Edinburgh and London, 1906), I, 161, n. 1.

with some exceptions they are not gay — partly, no doubt, because only five of them were written before 1854, when Lever was forty-eight. They show him, not in the guise of one of his own rollicking heroes, but as a devoted and kindly, yet often tired and downhearted, husband and father.

A wholly unexpected interest attaches, however, to ninety of the letters, because they were written by Lever to his family in Italy during his seven visits to England, and sometimes Ireland, in 1854, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1865, 1869, and 1871. From the biographical point of view, these letters are very important, since Lever's biographers, Fitzpatrick and Downey, are often vague and sometimes wrong about his visits to London. The letters have a more general interest, however, because in them Lever recorded his frank impressions of the London scene—impressions not hitherto published, since Downey prints, in all, only six letters written during three of the visits.

Before beginning a more detailed survey of the correspondence, it will no doubt be helpful to list the letters according to year, number,

place, and correspondent:

1844 I Templeogue: to W. H. Ainsworth

1849 I Bagni di Lucca: to Saunders

1850 I Bagni di Lucca: to Saunders 1852 I Spezia: to Saunders

1853 1 Spezia: to?

1854 10 Dublin (6), London (2), Turin (1), Tanderagee (1): to Mrs. Lever

1856 5 Florence (1): to ?; London (3), Paris (1): to Mrs. Lever

1857 29 London (25), Nice (4): to Mrs. Lever

Spezia (1): to Charles Lever, Jr.; Spezia (1): to Julia Lever; Spezia (5), London (3), Turin (1), Bologna (1): to Mrs. Lever

1860 3 Spezia: to Mrs. Lever

1861 5 Spezia (1), Florence (1): to Charles Lever, Jr.; Spezia (3): to Mrs. Lever

1862 3 Florence (1): to Charles Lever, Jr.; Spezia (2): to Mrs.
Lever

² Op. cit., II, 102-3, 249-52, 310-11.

¹ W. J. Fitzpatrick, The Life of Charles Lever (2d ed.; London and New York, 1884), and Downey, op. cit.

1863 I Spezia: to Julia Lever

1864 3 Spezia (1): to Julia Lever; Spezia (2): to Mrs. Lever

Spezia (7), London (5): to Julia Lever; Spezia (39), London (5), Dublin (2), Paris (1): to Mrs. Lever

1866 13 Spezia (5): to Mrs. Lever; Spezia (4), Florence (4): to Julia Lever

1867 78 Trieste (9), Spezia (1): to Julia Lever; Trieste (57), Vienna (9), Venice (1), Spezia (1): to Mrs. Lever

1869 18 London (4), Paris (2), Knebworth (1): to Mrs. Lever; London (11): to Julia Lever

1870 I Athens: to Julia Lever

1871 21 London (12), Dublin (6), Zagrad [?] (Fiume) (3): to Julia Lever

1872 11 Trieste (2), Zagrad (1): to Anne Lever; Zagrad (8): to Julia Lever

Undated 18 Chiefly Spezia: to Mrs. Lever, Julia, Miss Everest 1

Obviously, the letters fall naturally into nine groups: (1) that written from Spezia, where Lever was vice-consul from 1858 to 1867, to his wife and daughter when they were in Florence; (2) that written from Trieste, where Lever was consul from 1867 till his death in 1872, to Mrs. Lever and Julia in Florence, in the summer of 1867, before the family moved to Trieste; and (3–9) those addressed to Mrs. Lever and Julia in Florence or Trieste, during his seven visits to England.

Of all these groups, the largest, written from Spezia, is the least interesting. It is scattered and inconsequent. Rarely indeed does so

significant a paragraph as this occur:

As to the Tales o' the Trains [one of Lever's own works] — I brot it, to see if I could steal any of the Incidents into my new Tale for Dickens [A Day's Ride]. It is safe — in my desk.²

The "undated" letters are those I have been unable to date. Many of the others are actually undated, though the date may be fixed, sometimes by internal evidence, sometimes by the postmarks on the envelopes, which seem to have been kept very carefully with the proper letters. There are also letters from John Lawder (2), Charles Thomas Hill, R. Reade, and? (2) to Lever; from Charles Lever, Jr. (2) to Mrs. Lever; from R. Nevill and Sydney Lever (2) to Julia Lever; and from L. B. Seeley [?] to?. A few miscellaneous documents are also included, such as a brief political essay in Lever's hand; an envelope, addressed by him, inclosing money for his funeral; and a printed announcement, in Italian, of his death and funeral, dated Trieste, June 1, 1872.

2 Croce di Malta, Friday, [Apr.] 6, 1860.

The longest, most connected sequence, which may be characterized as amusing but unimportant, is that written from Trieste in July and August of 1867, when Lever was there alone for those two months until his family finally left Florence to join him. How thoroughly, at first, he detested Trieste is too well known to require illustration. As in the Spezia correspondence, he detailed, also, a great deal of petty consular gossip. Much of this series, too, is devoted to question and answer, discussion and description of domestic arrangements he was making for the reception of his family. As he himself said,

I sincerely trust that my correspondence is not filed, or the repetitions which occur in it will sorely damage my character for originality. It is ever the same song —

Carpets & curtains Tables & chairs drugget for passages drugget for stairs.

Yet he is by no means dull. Consider, for example, his description of the "very elegant" Villa Gasteiger, in which he was to live for the rest of his life:

It is all droll—it is so small—so pert—so d—d self satisfied—It looks such a veritable 'Gent' of a house—that I laugh whenever I look at it: You feel, that it is the biography of the man that built it—nothing but a d—d low bred counter jumping rascal, who had cheated the world out of some money—& himself into the belief that he was a gentleman could have devised it—The very hall door might be the entry into a "Repository for Baby Linen"—& the stairs the way up to "our show room."

— I saw as I came back to day — a large quarter in the main street — very noisy of course, & not 'swell' of 22 rooms splendidly — too splendidly — furnished & which they had waited to get me to take not knowing I was lodged — I'm afraid, that if the temptation had come in time — I'd have done so tho the rent was £350 per an!!! To have got anything ready to step into — without buying a plate rack — would have sorely tempted me. It was the residence of a Jew named Hirschl, the richest man here two years ago, & now ruined. All things considered, the Bawdy house is best.

— I frequently hope, that if my life be written thro' my letters, that a running commentary will be added, or posterity will think very ill of me.²

¹ Trieste, Aug. 13, 1867.

² Trieste, Aug. 26, 1867.

What is not well known, and what these letters make abundantly clear, is that much of his dissatisfaction with Trieste was due to the unpleasant discovery that he was actually made poorer by the "promotion" from the vice-consulship at Spezia to the consulship at Trieste — for, although his salary was larger, he had to pay some of the consular expenses out of it. Besides, he had to work much harder and live in a dismal town with a trying climate. Naturally, he was at first

disgruntled.

But to come to the more important sequences of letters — those from England and Ireland. These also subdivide further into two definite groups: the letters of 1854–59 and those of 1865–71. In the first four visits, of 1854, 1856, 1857, and 1859, Lever appears as a harassed paterfamilias and not-altogether-successful man in his late forties and early fifties (he was born in 1806), depressed by debt and by the discouraging realization that he had passed the first heyday of his popularity. He made these visits, not only to try to sell his works, but also to find some new means of support — such as a lecture tour in America, a London editorship, or a consular post. Disappointed in his other projects, he finally succeeded in getting the appointment at Spezia. It was natural enough that his view of London should be slightly jaundiced, though perhaps none the less clear for that.

On the morning of July 28, 1854, Lever arrived in London, and managed to write to Mrs. Lever, after a full day:

I have been out to Chapman's & find that he & his family are at St. Leonards — as he has been very ill — & ordered there, but will be up here to see me by Sunday — I went thence to call at Emerson Tennants — Sir H[amilton]. S[eymour].'s — & two or three more — all out — after which — eat a chop, & went down to the H of Commons, where seeing Monsell, I got a seat under the Gallery & heard a debate — After which — I went to Albert Smith's Mt Blanc — where I met Deane [?] the Architect &c of the Crystal Palace, & went to sup with him & A. Smith, Marc Lemon & a number of other authors, artists &c.

-29th resume of diary -

To Sir H. S. to breakfast & listen to the Old Russian correspondence till 2 OC., thence — to call on Butt, whom I have not seen — I dine at Sey-

mours to day, & to morrow — I am to dine at the Crystal Palace with a lot of the Dignitaries thereof — Monday with Forster — & Tuesday with Phiz — if I stay so long, which will depend on what business I get through with Chapman — when he arrives. . . .

Forster tells me that the Wilsons spent a week at Knebworth... where Lytton now is — F. pressed me much to go down there — with him — as the distance is only one hour—but I refused.... Tennant has not yet called on me — perhaps he will not... Thackeray & Dickens are both at Boulogne.

In Dublin, unrelieved gloom settled upon him:

- I am very low about it all indeed I hear nothing but depressing news on all sides There is a rumor that [G. P. R.] James is so disgusted with the States that he is desirous of returning to Europe & civilization once more I know not if this be true.
- I heard nothing from Lytton nor his father while in London & I suppose that no letter from him has ever come to Florence since I left. ²

At the residence of the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, in Tanderagee, where he arrived on August 9, the gloom was only deepened by hard work, bad weather, and the horrid prospect of a possible tour of America, for which he prepared a series of lectures, while awaiting advice from his friend John Crampton, the English minister at Washington. Back in Dublin on August 27, he remained in the same mood:

I cannot — by all in my power — make up my mind about America — It involves so much — money — time — health — fame — self respect too — that I really feel every hour more despondent & disinclined to go. . . .

Chapman is dangerously ill—his Foreman writes me word that he has a consultation on him that day—were anything to occur there—I should be in a dreary way indeed—since any new publishing connection would in the present state of the trade—be nigh impossible. It distresses me to worry you with these gloomy doubts & difficulties & it does not disburthen my own heart by telling them.³

Robert Lytton's neglect of him continued to prey on his mind ("Lytton has never written I suppose — He knew of course from Forster

¹ Burlington Hotel, July 28, 1854.

3 50 Sackville Street, Dublin, Sept. 2, 1854.

² Imperial Hotel, Sackville Street, Dublin, Aug. 7, 1854.

that I was in England & yet has taken no notice of me — I am certes not gaté by the attentions I have met with" 1), until finally he rereported: "I have had a long letter of blubbering blarney from Lytton — he loves us all so much, that he really — takes four sheets of paper to open the description." 2 But on September 14 he admitted: "Lytton, Sir Ed has invited me to Knebworth for the whole month of October — but I scarcely anticipate my being able to avail my self of his temptation." 3 By that time, his spirits were restored by his decision not to go to America:

I have not burned your last letter (except with kisses) & the consequence is that I have almost decided on abandoning America — indeed — I may say — Ill not go — to fret you — & all that is dear to me. . . .

— I'm half out of my mind with spirits at the relief of getting off this Infernal Yankee scheme & being — once again — with my face toward the South — 4

On his next visit to London, two years later, he was somewhat more prosperous and in better spirits:

... learn that I have actually refused £1000 a year. Bulwer offered me the Second Colonial Secy'ship at Melbourne. I was to have a free passage out &c, but to go alone — since the expense of family &c would be overwhelming, 'till I had made myself acquainted with the Colony & its habits — He, Sir H: was offered the Governorship — £15,000! a year, & seemed to have made up his mind to accept, 'till I refused, which I did peremptorily. — I asked for something else, [?], if possible, but was told that disabled & invalided officers are to get everything — as if the loss of a leg, was a warranty for legislative capacity! I dont much care. The book trade is looking up, & if I would descend to it — I could always make a good income — by the smaller journals — but I trust I have no necessity to go that low, as yet. . . .

— Thackeray — has returned — having netted £6000 in his last tour — he is now ready with a new book — Dickens' Dorrit is tremendously abused, but so advertized &c. that it sells malgré tout —

- I met Tom Trollope here, he has something coming out with Chapman.

¹ Tanderagee Rectory, Tuesday, Aug. 15, 1854.

² 50 Sackville Street, Dublin, Sept. 2, 1854.
³ Imperial Hotel, Dublin, Sept. 14, 1854.

⁴ Imperial Hotel, Sept. 11, 1854.

— As to acquaintances, I have seen none. . . . Balfe is leading a small city operatic company, but good singers (Sims Reeves [?] &c) at Sadler's Wells, & the audience receive him rapturously — Buckstone has called on me, to ask a comedy for the Haymarket — & from what I have seen — of the successfull ones, the attempt ought not to be dangerous. Routledge has just called, & offered me £200 for Arthur O Leary — which I have refused — demanding at least £250. — Webster has also been at Chapman's, & said, Lever is the only man, who could make a hit in a Drama — ask him, to give me a three act piece, & I'll give him £300 — so that so far as work goes, I can have my hands full — if only — I be equal to what they propose to me.

It is sheer madness for any man, who has to live by his brains to be removed from this great market. I can now see, how recklessly, I have played my cards, this life — & that if I had settled down here, I should have been a rich man to-day.¹

Just before dinner — I found out Balfe & was presented to Mrs. B. . . . Mickey recd me most cordially & Irish like wanted me to eat & drink with him. — I got off & invited him to dine with me — together with Pearce — on Saturday — & see the Bohemian Girl in the Eg — instead of the Piccolomini. — Balfe was — really — very jolly — & glad to see me — Pearce too — but more English in his joy. P. is making a rapid fortune. All the Dons are his sitters, & he has got an entire & very handsome house — "Queen Anne St Cavendish Square" — formerly Lord Raglan's & he has three horses, & does it strong — & this in London!

— Thackeray dined yesterday at Dilke's & hearing, I was in town — said he was most anxious to meet me: he spoke, as I heard, very handsomely of me — &c[.] I am glad of it — as grudges between men in the same walk are always to be deprecated, & the world not unnaturally thinks unfavorably of both — . . .

There is to be a grand literary meeting of all the Men of the Pen, on the 10th of June, to form a new Literary Institute — something to resemble or rival the "Academie Francaise". — I am invited to "assist," & asked to take a leading part — I have not yet sent my apology, but mean to do so as I hope to be on my way home, by that time.

— My brethern [sic] in ink, seem strangely puzzled with me — they do not appear to understand the fact of a man being a Gentleman — without

¹ Burlington Hotel, Cork Street, May 22, 1856.

wanting to bully others for not being the same. - Between Lytton Bulwers bashan airs, & Douglas Jerrolds brandy & water - they seem to have no middle term whatever. - By the way - you would not believe, what a mere village this great Babylon is - after all - how cliqueish - how miserably small & contracted! The ineffable self esteem & conceit of the inhabitants reduces them to an almost provincial narrowness on every subject not London.... From what I see - the subjects of fiction must be seldom taken from abroad - they are only interested about home, & they will tolerate any platitude - any commonplace if it only recalls something they have once seen, or fancied they have seen. If I see reason to regret my absence from this country in pounds of advantage & material benefit - I see nothing to deplore as regards happiness or personal independence -... H[enry?]. B[ulwer?]. was infinitely grander, than I had yet seen him — but indeed everybody is so - & I am so humbling myself, & so continually reminded of the grandeur I am admitted to converse with — that I shall soon come to my knees as the only resource of my insignificance - & yet, they are quite ready to give me an occassional whiff of the incense whenever they find they have too much smoke on their own altars — God bless them — for tres petits gens, which they are, tho' they do live in the great City — with the Times, the Thames & the new Police! & enjoy for the leisure of their Attic tastes - Cremorne Gardens, & Albert Smith's Mt Blanc!!

I am rather pressed by Webster to make a bona fide [?] to write a Play—which if I do & afterwards, see reason to blink, it will be worse than unpleasant—on the other hand the stimulus of necessity would make me do, whatever I once pledged myself to—Que faire? I wish I had y^r counsel here, not to speak of yourself...

The Peace has given such an impulse to speculation, that Im sure two years will not elapse without some terrific crisis — Every where new companies are afloat. — I was myself — offered a Directorship of a great enterprize to establish Glass Manufactories in India! I, that know nothing of glass, & less of India! but simply, that my name being before the world, was worth so much. — I said, that with a guarantee of 5,000 a year for five y's & my expenses, I agree —

— The everlasting talk of thousands & tens of thousands, that goes on, makes a poor author, feel, like a shoe black — whose industrie is only rewarded with the humbler coinage. — I must tell you a City trait — the remark of a great city merchant to his friend, whose daughter had gone in the town — "Well — at all events — it's a ready money business!" The observation is London, all over.

— I was in the Park this afternoon — I only saw one woman ride as well as Julia — The horses & gowns were perfect — but I was dis[ap]pointed in the owners — They looked better at the opera — where, they wore jewels, & smart dresses. The children in the Parks are the best sight in London[.] They are glorious creatures, & ought to be a million times handsomer, than they ever turn out afterwards — on the whole however, Hyde Park & its people are finer than the Bois de Boulogne, & the Lions thereof. The nation of shopkeepers are a haughtier grander — more up standing race, than the French.

I saw the Queen & the Prince, at the opera. They sat apart & never interchanged a word — nor a look — during the Eg — she, black as night, & he — bored looking, & weary — Are you tired of my jottings down — or do you prefer the newspaper that I send you — by the same post? happily I cant hear you if you say Yes — but I'd be glad to think you said No. — What a wearied old man I must be — when I find this one sided gossiping pleasanter, than the blaze — the splendor — & the fascination of the opera, & I do find it so, but I want to be back again to my old life of indolent quiet — the best of all repose, 'till one can reach the fast sound sleep, that dreads no alarm clocks."

Several pieces of bad news, especially the illness of his brother John, cut short this flow of instructive gossip, and he announced his imminent departure on May 27, after making good arrangements for new novels.²

Lever's longest stay in London was from March 20 to May 15, 1857, when he was negotiating for the editorship of the three Conservative journals then up for sale, the *Herald*, *Standard*, and *St. James's Chronicle*.³ A wealthy Mr. McMurray was willing to advance £20,000 for

¹ Burlington Hotel, May 23, 1856.

² The letters contain, of course, vastly more information about Lever's negotiations, successful and unsuccessful, with publishers than I have been able to include in this selection

of representative passages.

it was chiefly a business visit. He wished to discuss his forthcoming novel with Chapman & Hall and with Phiz. While he was in London he received some disturbing news of his son (who was still idling in Ireland), and he was half inclined to cross the Irish Sea, but he found he had lingered too long in London — a city in which he always managed to accomplish more card-playing than was good for his health or his pocket, — so he hurried back to Florence and 'Davenport Dunn.' Although there is no evidence to bear out the conjecture, it is most likely that he endeavoured during this visit to England to further his cause as a prospective diplomatist. On the whole, 1857 was a comparatively uneventful year."

the purchase and to give Lever full charge. There were also many complicated negotiations involving the Conservative Party, the National Club, and other groups and individuals. Lever, open and hearty as he was, soon grew thoroughly wearied and disgusted by these elaborate intrigues:

Talk of Italy! I have heard more lies here in the last month than all my experience of Italy for ten years would compete with.

I called on Lord Henry Lennox yesterday, with an introducⁿ from Bulwer, & he talked so haughtily & such d—d rubbish besides — that I told him flatly—it was as no follower of his party, I would accept the conduct of a Journal—but as one, who presumed to think, he could suggest a policy & defend it, leaving to his friends to adopt or reject whatever they pleased in it. I told B. L. afterwards of our interview, but he had already heard from Lord Henry—"that Mr Lever, took as high a tone as Lord Derby, & seemed just as impracticable"—The man is an ass—but that does not prevent his being a very distinguished member of the Conservative Party—of whom soit dit en passant—I am utterly & entirely sick.²

His hopes were never extravagant:

Lord Malmesbury has declared that M^r Lever is the only man he has ever seen — "who combines within himself the Literary element, with the practical wisdom of the man of the world, & the manners of a courtier" — these are his written sentiments — & consequently, all parties are determined to have M^r L's services if they can — but I grieve to add, that in examining financially the scheme £1500 per An: is the limit it will bear — seeing that the great M^r Mowbray Morris of the Times only receives so much:

— Now £1500 would be mere existence here not to speak of subscrip! to Clubs — dinners &c. You would have your Box at the Queen's & the Italian opera — for which, this year, the price is 300 guineas each, & of course anything you liked at the English Theatres — concerts &c — but I should be obliged at least for the first year, to bring out my number book — afterwards — I suppose — the Papers would pay their way, handsomely. — Still we have not caught our hare.³

And, in the end, the hare was not caught; on April 28 Lever announced:

¹ 26 Duke Street, Apr. 25, 1857.

² 26 Duke Street, Piccadilly, Apr. 5, 1857.
³ 26 Duke Street, Apr. 22, 1857.

The sale took place, & the papers were bought in by the assignees at £21,500— a sum considerably beyond what I would give, or wish to have any share in.— The question arises now what can they do with them?— The opinion in London is, that I am the capable man, & no other in the field— the assignees will not offer— nor would I accept service under them. McMurray whose staunch friendship grows with every fresh call on it— wishes me to make a distinct offer of 16,000 to buy the whole for myself— he giving me the money down— I have never met his equal for generosity & confidence—God knows, I was growing a little weak spirited abo! the World— but he has rallied me back again to hopefulness & good heart: I shall therefore consider carefully & maturely what to do—I will give myself two days to think over it—& trust God will guide me, to what may be best for the interests of those, whose welfare is in my hands & whose fate is dearer to me than my own.¹

As a result, Lever and McMurray vainly renewed their offer:

At last is this wearisome affair finished — the Private sale is just over — & we are refused! The Assignees have decided that less than £21,000 shall not be taken — & our very utmost & highest sum was £20,000. In my heart of hearts, I am glad of it — I hate the place — I detest the habits — & I funk the work.²

He was frankly relieved, because as usual he had begun to long for his old life in Italy:

As to labor — I see plainly, that I'll have to work more here every day than I ever do, in three weeks at home so that consenting to a very moderate increase of labor — I might readily compensate for the greater success to be obtained here. The "chanson" is "This is y place—you'd have a great position—a splendid field & so on" but supposing I dont ask for it—supposing that if Chapman would guarantee me my present resources—for ten years (—in all likelihood, six or seven more than Ill want them for) I'd rather fifty times over—live in Italy—or wherever I pleased—than to come to this blasted Engine room—with its Gentlemen Stokers & white cravated Firemen—incressantly toiling & sweating—& striving against each other.3

Meanwhile, he toyed with various other opportunities of employment. He was offered the editorship of the *Press* at £600, but, though

Burlington Hotel, Apr. 28, 1857.
Burlington Hotel, May 11, 1857.

³ Burlington Hotel, May 7 and 8, 1857.

the offer was later raised to £800, he refused (he would have accepted £1,000). Other projects presented themselves:

Such cannaille [sic] as are getting into Parliam^t! Cusack ought really to stand — Brind. [?] & Waller would really be respectable, & might look to the "Upper House" in time. — Hannay borrowed £30 from Chapman & started last Saturday to stand for Bridport — If [?] had paid me — I think I'd have gone for a "County" — or perhaps, the "West Riding," as Cobden has given up all hopes there."

I might have come in for Kilkenny — for about £200, & had the borough easily secured for life — but all things considered — I did not like to face the expense.²

I have been with Crampton — I believe, I might have the Consulship at N. York, & I almost fancy, I am wrong in not trying — but thinking of all our strong affections for Yankees, & their country — I relinquish the enterprize....— I was myself — offered ten thousand on my own personal security, in the City, this Mg. . . . These fellows are bursting with wealth, but they none of them have an idea how to spend it — beyond — four horses to Epsom, a white bait dinner at Greenwich, or an oyster supper at Evan's [?], they cannot go.

— I could easily obtain enough money here to start a periodical de novo—but I dont think there is room for anything beyond the "cheap & nasty"—"price a penny"! Dickens' H. Ws. is paying very poorly, & the profits—of which he takes all—are less than one thousand per an:... Everyone says, why dont you ask for this? insist upon that? claim the other, & so on? but if I dont take to garrotting at once, I dont know how to go about these violences.—I believe if it rained appointments—the only dry spot of ground—would be that I stood upon! 3

If my Publisher tires of me, I can always find occupation here, & make fully as much as I now do — by penny a lining! that is some comfort — not but that I feel I could not survive this climate a year — I am never well — one day. — I am actually racked with rheumatic pains — but the weather exceeds in badness all I ever experienced. The really best place after all — is Italy — Naples if one can — after that, Florence.4

¹ Burlington Hotel, Mar. 24, 1857.

<sup>Burlington Hotel, Mar. 30, 1857.
Burlington Hotel, Mar. 24, 1857.</sup>

^{4 26} Duke Street, Piccadilly, Apr. 5, 1857.

In the end, he was not dissatisfied with his visit or his prospects. His novels were doing well, and he had, of course, made the contacts which later gained him his consular appointment:

Of course the great expense — & the loss of time of this unlucky enterprize will be a heavy pall on me — but I am told on all sides, that if the C. Party ever do, get power, that I cannot be passed over, for office.¹

This group of letters is also particularly rich in gossip. Lever's scapegrace son, Charler Lever, Jr., came over from Ireland at this time and the father tried, with no very great success, to reform him, partly by introducing him to respectable and distinguished persons:

Cha: goes out to dancing parties now, & is the great Mazurkist [?] with the Dickens' & Evans's.2

Cha is still with me, dancing every night 'till two or three — so that I only see him at dinner time — he is in good spirits & makes fierce love — I hear, to the Evans & Dickens girls alternately. . . . Cha & young Dickens, who are inseperable have just come in & are smoking me out.³

C. left this desperately in love with Kate Dickens & Marg! Evans, he didnt know which — most but really soft upon both.4

The glimpses Lever gives of the literary men of the day are not good-natured, but they are interesting:

You have no idea of the sums earned here by the writers of the cheaper periodicals — 1500 & 2000 a year — a common salary, & such cannaille as they are! Thacker[a]y has pos[t]poned his serial — as he is making £100 to £150 a week by lecturing!

— Dickens lives out of the world in solitary grandeur — fanned & peacocks feathered by Bradbury — Evans & C. their wives & daughters. He is, I hear, — out of himself with vanity and success.

Routledge has got such a squeeze with Bulwers books! They say — he has lost ten thousand pounds by his bargain.5

¹ Burlington Hotel, May 14, 1857.

² 26 Duke Street, Apr. 22, 1857.

^{3 26} Duke Street, Apr. 25, 1857.4 Burlington Hotel, May 11, 1857.

⁵ Burlington Hotel, Mar. 21, 1857.

B. Lytton's seat for 'Herts' is in danger — & he, I hear — half distracted in consequence. . . .

Thackeray is lecturing away at a guinea a minute — or 60 guineas each lecture! He says he'll not write any more, so long as this hunting lasts — & du raison! Dickens is grander than ever — his eldest son is to be taken as a partner into Barings next month, & his second son has got a writership in India.¹

Dickens is hourly going down in estimation but his sale continues so "Il se moque de ses critiques"...

— Thackerays Lectures have come to a dead stop. After an overwhelming success in Scotland, he came to Brighton, last Saturday, & only three tickets being sold — the Lecture was put off — In London, Beale, who acted as his Barnum, has lost fifty pounds per night by him. — T. affects to laugh & says, that there was a Giantess who drew all the people away, but that he'll be tumbling away — fresh as ever — in a week or so — He told me himself — that one year like the last — would secure him an independence for life — he has already laid by above £10,000[.] ²

Now for a great secret — but it must be really a secret — since I am sworn not to betray Wolff, who told me — Sir B. Lytton sat up all night — last night — to cast my "Horoscope"! He ascertained — that is — he learned — that my present enterprize will have a noble success. — I shall be great — distinguished — eminent & elevated — but not rich! . . . The fun of the thing is that he already regards me as the rising sun — and as the Witches began to do homage to Macbeth — immediately after brewing the incantations — & discovering his future greatness so does the illustrious Sir Edd start with the most extraordinary obsequiousness & civility to the man who is to be "great hereafter" — Heaven grant he be right — I'd like a little splendor even tho' like Christopher Sly I was to awake again & find myself — a poor cobbler! . . .

— Haliburton — Sam Slick — has just asked myself & Cha. to dinner at his beautiful house at Richmond — it was a royal residence in George II's [?] time, & a perfect gem for site & culture.³

Lever's ill temper was partly due to the unfavorable reviews he had been getting:

¹ Burlington Hotel, Mar. 24, 1857.

 ^{2 26} Duke Street, Piccadilly, Apr. 16, 1857.
 3 26 Duke Street, Apr. 22, 1857.

In one respect a sight of this place — suggests no small chagrin — which comes from seeing the immense success of a set of pushing prating commonplace bla[ck]guards, who go about, puffing each other — bill-sticking for one another — & passing promisory notes of each others grand qualities. I assure you — I feel a species of rugged pride, that no body endorses my character — not one guarantees me in any respect — but I stand alone, to take my chance with 'the Public' — with the conviction, that if I carry away little of the Harvest, it is my own hands have made the gleaning."

The impertinent — & a very impertinent notice it was of Lorrequer in the Saturday Review was written — I believe — by M^r Ro! Bell, a man I have known since a boy — but quite capable of doing the thing thus handsomely.²

As he suspected, the reviewers had developed a habit of animosity toward him, which he was happily able to change:

I dined yesterday at a literary reunion called 'our Club' [?] — where I was handsomely feted & flattered &c by my confreres of the pen — & soon found out, that my supposed — imputed contempt for my brethern has long rendered the press inimical to me. Douglas Jerrold went so far as to say — "We have been treating this man very unfairly — let us see & make up for it." The Edr of the Atheneum — a journal always adverse to me — also spoke in the same sense, & I have hopes that at last! I am to have a little fair play.3

Thereafter, his notices apparently were more satisfactory, save for his old feuds with individuals:

The Saturday R. contained a most outrageous [?] attack on me — written as I heard by Mr Hannay — "cela s'explique" — but the insolence is excessive. All the other papers are civil — some more than civil.4

Her Majesty's consul was never an ardent monarchist:

The Income Tax Commissioner, called at Piccadilly yesterday & said it was perfectly disgraceful that Mr Lever who drew a princely income! from England, had never paid one shilling of Income Tax: I introduced myself as the depreciated individual & said, that "any Mg. he would kindly call upon me

¹ Burlington Hotel, Mar. 24, 1857. ² Burlington Hotel, Mar. 21, 1857.

³ 26 Duke Street, Piccadilly, Apr. 5, 1857.

⁴ Burlington Hotel, May 4, 1857.

at my residence, C. Capponi — I would furnish him with all the details of the aforesaid princely revenue, & any other infor? he desired — but that his chance of the 5 per cent he desires for pimping into peoples affairs, ran a sorry chance, in my case — till he made the visit I spoke of." I think it would go nigh to break my heart, to contribute sixpence to maintain the bloated humbug of Queen — Council & Commons — that I see here in purple & fine linen — with nothing to requite me, than the fog, the rheumatism & the

All in all, Lever's 1857 sojourn in London was one of the most interesting and eventful of all his visits. The shortest and least interesting was in January, 1859, when he made the mistake of going to London to express his gratitude for the appointment to Spezia. In spite of illness, he managed to pick up some news:

I saw my Lord himself, who told me that he was very sorry I had come over for he had discovered he had made a mistake ab! the Vice Consuls exception from Exam. & that I was just as much exposed to the casualty as any Consul of them all — he said, "You had better go back at once, & not let them see you here" - I replied that being in London I had various private affairs would delay me some days, & that if the C. S. Commissioners summoned me to an Exam. the post of Spezia — was at his Lordship's disposal — as — I added — There can only be one thing worse than being plucked, which is, the passing! He had to think for a minute over this & then laughed heartily. I told him a great deal about Italy — & the dangers to be apprehended, but — he is in such a funk about the prospects of the 'party' itself, that he can't think of anything else. I never saw such a miserable wreck of a man in my life — when I was here last, he was a fine, strong hearty fellow, & he is now stooped, emaciated dark circles round his eyes & a nervous spasm in his cheek, that almost impedes his speech. Il ne vaut pas tout cela!!... Rot Lytton dined with me yesterday - I never saw such a miserable creature. . . . Sir Ed is half dead with the fatigues of office — & like the country mouse (who was probably a Vice Consul) I go back to my hard pease & poverty - thanking God - I am not like that Publican. It sounds very big to say it, but I'd be d-d if I'd be a Cabinet Minister to lead the dog's life of these people, with the dog's fate of being kicked out - en perspective! . . . Thacker[a]y & Dickens dont speak. I yesterday saw in hard sover[e]igns the receipts of Dickens Friday Eg. reading, £162 St: pas mot. That for two hours degradation — & I have a whole

¹ Burlington Hotel, Mar. 24, 1857.

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years shame, for one third more! Chapman is quite cocky about having got Dickens again in his hands, he is to publish his next new book. — Thackeray is disgusted with the Public indifference to the Virginians & says, "They are a rotten set to work for &c &c." ¹

Sir E. Lytton has certainly not overloaded me — with attentions — & I carry back with me, something more than indignation, at his treatment.²

Punctually to his usual practice — I to day red Sir Ed. Lytton's invitation to dine with him on the day — I leave London! I replied, that my sorrow & disp! were the greater, in as much as that it was the third time, my departure had robbed me of the pleasure of accepting his invitation." . . . In consequence of the rupture between Dickens & Brad? & Evans: the Household words must come to an end — the partnership being dissolved. — Dickens is to start a new periodical with Chapman & B. & E. are also disposed to run in rivalry[.] Certain advances have been made to me on the matter, & are also making to Thackeray. — Of course actual Ed. on my part is out of the question — I am a V. C. & Ill stay so, — but a good permanent engag! would be very satisfactory — or a salary — per an: to write, what, & when & how I pleased — the more as the return of Dickens to C. & H. (which is now arranged finally) will make them so entirely his — as to leave no margin to attend to any other interests.

— The Dickens, Yates & Thackeray row comes on at the Law Courts on Wednesday — I heard that they were most anxious to summon me as a witness to prove that when imitated by Thackeray in his prize Novelists — I did not feel any sense of anger — or wounded pride — in fact, the object being — to show that Thacker[a]y — least of all men should protest again[st] any quizzing personality.

— G. P. R. James has come back, I hear, perfectly frantic in his abuse of Yankees & their life — I am rather glad of it, for I feared the contrary.³

Not for six years did Lever return to London. In December of 1863, he created his character Cornelius O'Dowd, whose chatty, amusing, timely — though not brilliant — comments on "men, women, and other things in general" were published by Blackwood and procured for Lever an entirely new popularity and fame which his critics have too often overlooked. When he came to London in 1865, there-

Burlington Hotel, Jan. 22, 1859.

² Burlington Hotel, Jan. 25, 1859.

³ Burlington Hotel, Jan. 29, 1859.

fore, it was to find himself famous again and sought after socially as he had never been before, and the visits of 1869 and 1871 were even greater triumphs. During these visits his comments on London men and life may be characterized as grumbling rather than disgruntled. He was becoming, if not softer, at least less sharp. Yet they continue to be of considerable interest.

About the Irish, he could now afford to be somewhat supercilious:

The people here overwhelm me with Engage^{ts} town & country — & to day Lord Charlemont has come to press me to stay at his country house near Clontarf. — They are civil beyond belief — but oh dear could I not ODowd the whole thing — if I were not under such roast beef recognizances — to be well behaved.

In London he was deluged with attentions:

If you knew in what turmoil & din & confusion I write with all sorts of interruptions & proposals around me youd say I was a "Phaynix" to write at all....

— I am "crowded" with invitations & have had two "stalls" offered me for the Derby (Grand Stand) 5 Guineas each — . In fact — I am more made of than you would believe[.] Dickens is in the country, but has written to ask me down there, which I can't do — Indeed it is a day lost, to leave town, but he will come up to me. The Chapmans have called — old & young — with pressing invitations! What a rare audacity!

The best news I have is your own — about Mamma — it is better to me to know she is doing well, than all the rest — & I am only impatient to be back again with you all, & in the quiet happiness of Villa Morelli to think life infinitely better — than all this racket & junketting.²

Lever was immensely impressed and flattered, though he tried not to be:

As for myself I am in rude health tho' I am dined & fêted, like an Alderman.

— I thought Dublin civil but it is nothing to this. At Sir Hamilton's yesterday — people pressed to know me — very fine folk too — in a way perfectly awfu' — as Miss Gordon say — . . . At one moment I almost meditated giving up London & setting out for Paris & home — but there are really so many people to talk to — & so much to hear — that I cant deny

¹ Morrisson's, Dublin, May 22, 1865.

² Junior Carlton Club, London, May 26, 1865.

myself the opportunity — the most probably last one of my life. Oliphant is immensely civil, & his mother sends you most affectionate messages [.] Lady Seymour sends her love to you — she is the same abrupt Gerty she always was. Oliphant sends Julia a handsome copy of the book — with her name in it — Blackwood is immensely hospitable & asks me to dine with him every day I am free. . . . The Club in [n] here is a great comfort — but the cookery is not at all equal to its reputation — Sir Hamilton's yesterday — was a great spread & the company superfine — five peers & their females. . . .

— I am fully convinced if I came here Id never write another book, tho I must write short sketches — & even these rarely.

I have very little to say — except in the style of the Morning Post — giving a catalogue of great dinners & grand Eg's at which I have assisted: for I am lionized in a fashion that is positively absurd: & I shake my mane, & wag my tail & "roar you like a sucking dove." Mother will call me intolerable if I dont tame down to humility — before I recross the Mt Cenis.

Besides being complimentary &c. the people are, or affect to be very cordial & kind, & I certainly am receiving attentions such as I never experienced before. . . .

Apropos of OD: Kinglake says, that they are the "most vigorous, & the wittiest essays in the language"! Stand out my shin!

I dine with Lord Houghton (Monkton Mills [sic]) on Thursday — to meet Gladstone, Sir E. Grey, & all the Whig swells, whom I have been laughing at this year past.

— The Park is wonderful — They ride from 12 to 2 OC. when they go home to luncheon, & ride again from five to seven — no dinner earlier than 8 — some 9 OC[.] Lunch is a great thing with soup — entrees — 'dolce' &c — & abundance of Champagne. Such eating, I never saw, & dont they show it!! They ride well but very few — gracefully — they sit much better than they handle their horses. . . .

— I am surprized to find that the 2 vol O'Dowd did not do so well — the first is still selling much better — Tony seems dead & buried — for all that Blackwood is immensely eager I should write & every thing I say, in course of conversation, he exclaims Wait! [?] What a subject for an article! It re-

¹ Junior Carlton Club, May 27, 1865.

minds me of old days & poor McGlashan again. Dickens is here now—begging me to come down to the country with him—which I cant, for I am engaged for the next eight days.¹

I met Lord Stanley last night, who came up to me in a crowded room saying, "This is the only novelist — whose works every statesman may read with benefit." — I do not read — I study Mr Levers books." Voila un grand mot.

Kinglake told me after our Eg at the Cosmopolitan that the men there—said all sorts of civil & flattering things of me & ardently desired to see me amongst them. . . .

I have not met Dickens yet — indeed — the difficulty of seeing any one — even once — here is great twice is impossible — I am to dine with him to morrow téte a téte. If the Chapmans be prospering it is certainly, not for attending to their business — the old one is at his villa in Hampstead & F. C. always yachting — or coursing — or [?] fooling in one fashion or other. The shop looks dirty — neglected & ill supplied — & from externals, I should say — anything but prosperous — They wrote to Dickens saying that my acc¹ had been already 'closed' & there was no demand against me — voila tout.²

- My business matters here are most unpleasantly checked by the unaccountable departure of Dickens from London.³
- Apart from seeing people, making acquaintance & disseminating, so to say, myself I have done little here. I am told, that I have succeeded well, that I have made more converts to Leverism than all my books &c. Reste a savoir what fruit this tree of knowledge will bear hereafter[.] . . .

Dickens is perfectly inexplicable — indeed I have no other key to his conduct — than that he has gone out of town to avoid me. Out of delicacy towards him — I have not entered upon my Chapman negociation nor can I, till I know from himself — that he has retired from it. The Chapmans profess immense civility — they even asked if I was in any want of ready money, &c.4

Dickens is still absent, & I mean to day to see Wills & say, that if he does not return by Monday — I shall place the matter with Chapman in some

¹ Burlington Hotel, May 29, 1865.

² 54 Brook Street, Bond Street, June 1, 1865.

^{3 54} Brook Street, June 6, 1865.

^{4 54} Brook Street, June 10 [should be 9], 1865.

accountant's hands — so as to have — what Rose calls — a formal release from all subsequent claims of any kind whatever. . . .

— Blackwood is amazing in civility — & kindness — I really believe he wishes me well, &, independently of his interests, has a friendly feeling towards me.

That I have made the great mistake of my life in living out of England, is plain enough[.] Whether it be too late to rectify—is not so clear. Rose says, that nobody remembers any one—who is not seen occassionally at least in London, & I believe him. . . .

A line has just come from Dickens, who has been at Paris, & nearly smashed coming back from the Dover line: he has escaped tho' there are several killed & wounded. He writes with evident difficulty & is perhaps much shaken & concussed — tho not seriously damaged.¹

I was at a wonderful dinner last Saturday — 58 writers for the Saty & Pall Mall but yesterdays at Lord Houghton's was the triumph of all festivity. We had Lawley — L^d Odo [Otho] Fitzgerald — Serjeant Mereeweather [sic] — Kinglake — Hayward — Sir Chas Treveglian [sic] — Bernal Osborne & Cony. ODowd — & the greatest of these was — whom you know. Houghton gave the health of Cook the Excursionist — without whom he said, "the wittiest essay of the age had never been written[.]" I was overwhelmed with allusions & quotations from OD & all declared that the impossibility of any man catching current topics, & living a thousand miles away — was the only reason why a doubt existed at the authorship —. Isnt it nice to be able to say all these flatteries to one, who will like them as well as oneself — & who will not think me a donkey for telling them?

My Will is made — my Copyrights, tho not sold, may be — if I agree to the small offer Smith — (not Pall Mall S—) makes for Barrington & Luttrell — & as Dickens is so shattered in nerves — there is no use in waiting any longer for him — so that if the few other things that I want to arrange can be settled — I shall leave this — on Sunday Night — or Monday Mg — for Paris & thence after a day or two days for home.

— I am sure I am wrong, not to be near enough to this place, to make myself known & felt in it — I see what I could do, & what no other influence than my own could do for me — but the end of the race, is not the time to think — how one should have started, & all I have gained is the sense of

Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, June 10, 1865.

self-confidence, that is the next best thing to Hopefulness — I can easily see that people take a very different estimate of me, from myself, than from my books — & that I gain & do not lose by the contrast.

Of Dickens I know no more. His late accident has they say so overwhelmed him with shock & horror that he can see no one. . . .

Anthony Trollope is pressing me hard to give him one day — but I can't.2

In 1869 these social successes were repeated, and augmented by the impression made by his beautiful youngest daughter, Sydney, who accompanied him from Italy. He was even flattered by attentions from the Prince of Wales:

Only fancy — on yesterday — I was told as a message that the Prince was astonished to hear of my being in town & not calling at Malbro' [sic] House & said 'well['] — "I suppose I must see him on his own terms," & desired a club dinner to be got up, & that I should be asked to meet him on the 27th. This [is] of course a great honor & glory to me. — I wish — I could manage to turn it to more profitable account.³

Our royal dinner passed off admirably (The P. full of the nicest attentions to me) & only marred by the persistent obtrusiveness of Delane, who would be a foreground figure, & to everyone's disgust.⁴

The 1869 letters are somewhat less amusing and important, because Lever had come to accept attentions as his due and because, unfortunately, his gout was very bad. Moreover, he now saw more of consular acquaintances than of men of letters. He himself comments on the change in the circle of his friends:

I have met great kindness & attention from every one — but more — I admit from new friends than older ones, but from none have I any cause of complaint.⁵

Nevertheless, there is some gossip worth preserving:

Norcotts has been a great literary success whether pecuniarily so, I cant say — but they tell me at the Garrick — It took the town by storm. . . .

 ⁵⁴ Brook Street, June 12, 1865.
 54 Brook Street, June 15, 1865.

³ Sunday and Monday [May 23 and 24?, 1869].

^{4 33} Brook Street, May 28, 1869.

⁵ Sunday and Monday [May 23 and 24?, 1869].

We dine at Smiths to day to meet Mr & Mrs Stephen (Miss Thackeray) to morrow, Roses — & we are both invited to pass some days at Knebworth — where a number of swells & celebrities are invited to pass the Whitsuntide holidays — Sir Henry [Holland] is quite vexed that L^d Lytton has not asked him. Syd: is wild to go, but I dont yet see it. . . . Trollope wants us to go down for a week to his country house, & promises to fill it with pleasant people, but I dont think of it.

So far as I can gather — the Novel trade is declining — readers diminishing — & prices falling — This was to be expected — Reade is my authority[.] I made his acquaintance at the Garrick: they are a strange rough lot there — clever, witty & intensely vulgar — & the worst whist players in Europe. — I dont see any prospect of employment — if I cannot arrange something prospectively with Smith. . . .

Every Magazine it seems — except Blackwoods is losing money — Trollopes is in debt heavily & even Cornhill — not more than paying its expenses.^{*}

Sir H. Seymour wanted us to take a Sunday family dinner with them but I funked it — & said "engaged." The London Sunday is too awful, it is the concentrated force of that austerity, that makes people seek Romanism — & certainly the gloom of English life, requires, no artificial embellishment[.] Only fancy — Labouchere writing a puff of Norcott himself in the Daily News! His personal unpopularity here — exceeds belief — In the Clubs, he is spoken of with such severity, & such dislike, as no other man is talked of, & amongst his own party — he is detested. — He was blackballed in three clubs — on one day.²

Lever and Sydney did go to Knebworth, whence he wrote on May 18:

I came down here because I had promised, but am so knocked up with a cold & feverish attack that I am keeping my room[.] The place is princely & full of interest — but I can enjoy nothing[.]...

I have just got a few lines from Dick.³ dated 12, but it is hard to say, that he had not written it before. Indeed every word is the transcript of a former note.

¹ 33 Brook Street, May 9, 1869.

² Sunday and Monday [May 23 and 24?, 1869].

³ Dickens?

I do not mean to delay here — tho Sydney wishes it much — I want to finish what I have to do in town, & pack S. off to Dshire. & be off myself. — We therefore return to morrow. I have been working at proof, & writing a new OD all Mg. in my room & with coughing & nose blowing am completely tired. Lord L. makes a deal of us, & never wearies of attentions.

As usual, Lever went home tired of London and longing for Italy:

I have now provided myself with a good spell of work — for at least two years if I live so long — & look forward with pleasure to the unbroken quiet of Trieste — in a different frame to heretofore. — Indeed — I doubt now (as regards a place to work in) if Id change it.¹

April of 1871 saw the old novelist back in London for his last visit, in better health and more mellow mood. He was literally overwhelmed by attentions.

After a day & night journey pursued without stopping — I reached this last night at six O'C. — got a bath — dressed — & dined at the Garrick — where I had an ovation — played whist till 2 OC: & then to bed. . . .

I have seen James — Brasseur — Kinglake — Gilbert the Artist — ODowd — &c — Trollope & Russel[?] are in Ireland — Trollope sails for Australia on the 4th May, to see his son — He leaves 3. complete novels for press — . . .

2 OClock. Smith ² has just been with me, & made me promise to go to Ireland with him— he has never been there, & wants to see a lead mine where he has a *small* interest (as he called it) £50,000, & means if it satisfy him to invest fifty thousand more. He is overwhelming in civility, & offers me as much money as I wish—he said, "Will £500 be of use to you, or w⁴ you like more:" It is like selling ones soul to the Devil to be even asked the question.

All the world has been calling on me already, & the dinners have begun — To day with Fergusson — to morrow if I stay here, with Kinglake — Langford for Tuesday — with Rot Browning &c —

I have seen shoals of pretty women but Oh, the horses — how I wish you could see the horses — Id like to be a Coachman here. . . .

¹ 33 Brook Street, June 5, 1869. ² Lever's son-in-law.

Blackwood had a letter with money awaiting me — at the Burlington — & full of cordiality — he wants me to spend a month or two in Fifeshire.

I am in better health in *most respects* than I have been for some time, & eating like a wolf — in fact — I am good for any number of luncheons, & dinner afterward. . . .

I breakfasted with Beer yesterday — lunched with George Eliot (Adam Bede) & dined at eight with Trollope — Serg^t Merewether[,] Bernal Osborne — & James — a feast for Lucullus in food — & capital talking. — How easy for men to keep themselves in the full swing of their faculties here! I can well believe — how little they care to live out of it. You would be amased at the number of my friends, who call me Lever, & "old fellow," & whose names I do not know if I ever heard them. . . .

Bernal Osborne got heavily chaffed about his thefts from O'Dowd in the House — but bore it well.

Beer, is the very best of good fellows. There is nothing — absolutely nothing — he is not ready to do for me. Indeed, if I was disposed to feel myself — an overlooked, or forgotten man — a few weeks here, would refute the impression for not only is there a good will towards me from old friends — but it is a sort of fashion, to behave courteously towards me. . . .

There is to be a farewell dinner to be given by Trollope at Richmond on the 3rd [?] — the day before he sails — & they are all eager I should stay for it — but indeed Turtle, White bait, & Champagne are now daily diet to me — & if I am not an Alderman — I feed like one. My well known attempts to grow thin will probably end in my returning a stone heavier — & tho I am rained on ten times a day & driven over, on an average, about 5 I never felt so well — these ten years.²

Only think of the Whig Colonial Secretary — Knatchbull-Hugessen — calling on me & asking me to dine. — I cannot conceive how they forgive me. . . .

When Dizzy was told — that it was I who had written the notice on Lothair, his words were, "the very last man in Europe to do it." I am so much gratified by this, that I mean to call on him — when I return to town.³

¹ Burlington Hotel, Apr. 22, 1871.

² Garrick Club, Apr. 24 [?], 1871.

³ Garrick Club, Apr. 25, 1871.

What strange people these are. They have nothing but money — they have no animal spirits — no lightness — no go in them — a rich — very rich man said to me yesterday — If you — meaning me — would just tell us frankly what you could live on here — as you would like to live — well [sic] arrange it at once, & not suffer you to go back there" — & when I told Beer of it he said it was "bona fides." Rose, after a variety of little searchings after what I cared for — said — I could have the Bath, if I wished — & I said I should certainly think of it — tho C. B. brings no cash."

I start for Dublin to morrow Mg at 6, & hope to reach there for a late dinner. My "tourist friends" as my rival calls them, now include Rose[,] Beer[,] Erlanger & wife — Sir Hamilton Seymour, & Billy Russel — a very strange medley, & sufficiently "contrary" to be highly social — . . .

Labouchere alone of all my friends does not hurt me with attentions — But the hatred people feel for him seems to have turned him into a downright savage — . . .

Yesterday afternoon, I called at F. O. & saw Lord Enfield who did nothing but compliment me on my books & declare all the *pride* & pleasure he felt in knowing me. He was courtesy & flattery itself, accompanied me to the door, & strange thing of all — left his card on me this mg at Burlington!²

Lever enjoyed Ireland no more than he expected, but could not help being impressed by his reception:

I have been at the College Chapel & heard the superb Choir, & tho only a few hours here — was known & ushered into a grand Stall in the 'Nave' — if that be the name for it — & attracted such attention, that I dared not sleep during the sermon.³

The inconceivable littleness of this place after London! Trieste after Vienna—is terribly painfull—& I should not have exposed myself to the shock if I had the faintest suspicion of the fact, for all my "Irishry" is not proof against the conviction, & yet it must not be even hinted at here—except to the men who have—or have had—seats in Parliament.⁴

If my Irish journey was undertaken to test the state of my popularity with my countrymen, it has had a full success — not so — if its object were to make me better acquainted with Ireland. In fact, except splendid dinners, fine plate and beautiful women — I have seen nothing new — nor heard

¹ Garrick Club, Apr. 26, 1871.

² Garrick Club, Apr. 29, 1871.

³ Dublin, Apr. 30, 1871.

⁴ Morrisson's, Dublin, May 1, 1871.

anything but egregious flatteries of myself—was it for these then I have come? I am sure I wish I could think so, for it would give me an easier conscience—however I shall never see it again, & it is 'high art' to leave the stage in a transport of enthusiasm!

You would believe that I was one whose well earned honors had been long denied him, & was now being paid with interest — simply because I have never been here as 'O'Dowd,' & it is in my essayist character, they are now feting me. You insist on these egotisms, & you have had y' fill of them.'

As usual, however, he appreciated Dublin more after he got back to London, especially as he became more and more fatigued and gouty:

They do care more here for eating than in Ireland[.] There the discussion was always — whom to have — here, it is always — where to dine—meaning, what to have to eat.²

I really am tired & worn out with these unceasing dinners — great eating & slow talking — not nearly so good as Dublin, with all its sins of occassional bad taste & gushingness[.] ³

Engagements and observations continued unabated to the end:

A grand Civic banquet (where I showed my breeding by lubricating behind my ears with rose water) has almost reduced me to the lethargy of an Alderman, & I sneered at Blackwood when he said something to me of 'writing.'

— I have four days now before me of unresting delight — including Richmond — Greenwich — & the Cup day at Ascot, — after which, I dine with Whyte Melville & then home — "where in the words of the song I fain would be."...

I have had a long growl with Kinglake over the miserable Emperor & his wretched country, & we are like minded throughout. Why we ever believed these monkeys to be Tigers — is hard to understand, for all their infernal cruelties bespeak the ape origin. He thinks of adding the "end of the Empire" to his volumes — but I have endeavored to dissuade him — There is no knowing how the mawkish sensibility of John Bull (which he treats generously!) might resent the severity. . . .

¹ Morrisson's, May 7, 1871.

^{3 33} Brook Street, May 27, 1871.

² 33 Brook Street, May 21, 1871.

Millais & I have become sworn friends—exchanged photographs &c—I like him greatly.—He & Bateson of the Life Guards wont dine at the Garrick till they find if I am to dine there—& the Club fellows quizzed them—by saying that a table had been kept for me—the day I dined in the City! The Lord Mayor has just invited me to meet the P. of Wales on the 23rd—when I intend to meet you & Pussie. . . .

I have had such a glorious Farewell benefit [?] — I must retire."

The common belief would seem to be that Lever spent a miserable old age and died unpopular and consequently embittered, though these letters furnish abundant proof that this is untrue. Often in bad health and never quite recovered from his grief at the death of his beloved wife in 1870, in the end he was nevertheless as well content with his fame and fortune as most men. No doubt the erroneous impression has been fostered by his irritability (caused by ill health) and despondency (caused by his wife's death), both certainly magnified by his habit of grumbling, which is noticeable in some of his published letters. Probably it has also been fostered by Fitzpatrick's unfortunate publication of the epitaph Lever wrote for himself:

For sixty odd years he lived in the thick of it; And now he is gone! not so much being sick of it, As the thought that he heard somebody say, 'Harry Lorrequer's hearse now stops the way.'2

How misleading this is as an indication of Lever's mood in his last years can easily be seen from a letter written January 2, 1864: 3

I am sorry to say that, grim as I look in marble, I am more stern and more worn in the flesh. I thought a few days ago that it was nearly up, and I wrote my epitaph—

For fifty odd years I lived in the thick of it, And now I lie here heartily sick of it.

Obviously, therefore, the epitaph expresses the mood of his fifties, not his sixties.

An interesting, though unfortunately somewhat vague, confirma-

¹ Garrick Club, June 3, 1871. ² Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 367.

³ Downey, op. cit., II, 2. The letter is dated 1863, but Downey appears right in believing the "3" to be an error.

tion is contained in one of the letters in the Huntington Library. It is dated only "Spezia, Thursday," but internal evidence points to a probable date of January 9, 1862. In it Lever says, much in the mood of the epitaph — a mood that was rather constant in those years:

I do not see any good reason for believing that the Derby party will attain to power, but if they should I must try for something — anything — that will rescue me from more of pen & ink work. When they say — they have had too much of Lever, Lever feels he has had too much of himself!

In the last eight or nine years of his life, however, Cornelius O'Dowd successfully distracted the attention of the public — and of Lever himself — from Harry Lorrequer's hearse, and in one of his last letters, written to his sister-in-law, Anne Lever, less than two months before his death, we see him in a mood of gentle melancholy tempered by a sense of blessings not entirely deserved, perhaps, but not therefore the less pleasant to contemplate.

I write these few lines with some difficulty. Gout has gone to my heart—which has got a way of stopping & fluttering as tho it had to run, to regain its lost place—I'm sure I should not blame it—if it stopped for good & all—it has gone on long after it had anything to work for.— My short windedness makes it very difficult for me to lie down at night—but I can fortunately sleep in any position. . . . I got a very civil note this Mg from my publisher—who strange for a publisher—is polite enough to tell me, that my book has had a success, & the first Ed. sold off—Lord Lytton—Lord Houghton (Monkton Mills), Sir Henry Holland—Kinglake—Forster, & several others—have written me such kind—even affectionate notes—that I am again experiencing what my poor darling Kate—said to me in one of our last confidences—that poor as I was in material future [fortune?]—there were few richer in warm friendships—& my heart overflows as I write in thankfulness at a wealth—I feel so much beyond all my deservings.

Here I am again — smothering — & I must stop.

— I wanted to tell of Sydney — she & her husband are at the Burlington — London, & in all the enjoyment of town life — she at least has got the sunny side of the road. — They have been keeping my room for me — but I am to [sic] weak to riske [?] the journey — Indeed one 'tour' in the garden is about as much as I can manage.¹

¹ Trieste, Apr. 16, 1872.

But the evanescent fame of Cornelius O'Dowd soon disappeared after his creator was hidden under the Austrian sod in 1872, and Lever's fluctuating reputation rested once more on the antiquated fame of his novels. Thus, in 1879 a reviewer could write:

Although it is only a few years since Lever died, his popularity as a novelist had been at the time so long waning that his death had not the effect, as in the case of Thackeray and Dickens, of bringing to an abrupt termination a brilliant career; but rather of reviving for a brief time a reputation already almost extinct. . . . he belongs to a completely bygone period, and . . . his reputation, whatever may become of it in the future, is almost as completely dead for the time as if he had never written a line.¹

In 1883 Anthony Trollope expressed in his Autobiography the opinion that the novels of his "dear old friend . . . will not live long, — even if they may be said to be alive now." And, ever since, many "friendly" critics of Lever have adopted a similar tone, none of them apparently doubting for a moment that they have in hand a genuine literary cadaver. Yet the mere repetition of these lethal rumors and putative exhumations, over a period of sixty-odd years, suggests that perhaps the works of Lever are merely taking an unconscionable time in dying.

Obviously, as the number of editions of his better-known novels still in print testifies,³ Lever has continued to be read, and one wonders why there have been so many attempts to depreciate his work — attempts dating from the very first years of his early success. A survey of the Lever criticism shows that the reasons are surprisingly varied and

often prejudiced.

In the forties in America, Lever's *Charles O'Malley* annoyed Poe because it was at the moment popular with "the mass of mankind" and because Poe disliked Lever's "devilled kidneys," "vulgarism of thought," "gross and contracted soul," "mere thread" of plot, and especially his flattering picture of the Prince Regent, "that filthy compound of all that is bestial — that lazar-house of all moral cor-

² Anthony Trollope, Autobiography (Edinburgh and London, 1883), II, 74-75.

¹ The Nation (New York), XXIX, 368.

³ It is perhaps also worthy of mention that the *Golden Book* magazine has reprinted "The Widow Malone" and "Con Cregan's Legacy" (I, 736 [May, 1925]; XX, 35-38 [July, 1934]).

ruption"; in short, Poe was cheered only by the typically American thought that "the career of true taste is onward — and now moves more vigorously onward than ever."

In Ireland, also, he was mercilessly attacked in the forties by the "Young Ireland" press, especially the famous *Nation*. "It regarded him as a buffoon novelist, a parodist of the national character, and a

political weakling." 2

In England of the forties he fared no better. He alienated, among others, those who could not boast of extraordinary constitutions—such as Richard Hengist Horne, who felt that

The sort of reader for Harry Lorrequer, is one of those right jovial blades who can dismiss his six dozen of oysters and a tankard of stout "after the play," and then adjourn with some other capital fellows to brandy-and-water and a Welsh rabbit, pleasantly relieved by poached eggs, and cigars, and a comic song; yet rise the next morning without a fraction of headache, without the knowledge of a stomach, and go to breakfast with a fox-hunter.³

More injurious was a staggering blow, not quite below the belt, delivered by another dear old friend, Thackeray, who had enjoyed the hospitality of Templeogue House, where he wrote and dedicated to its occupant the *Irish Sketch-Book*, but who nevertheless included among his *Prize Novelists*, published in *Punch* in 1847, the devastating parody, *Phil Fogarty: A Tale of the Fighting Onety-Oneth, by Harry Rollicker*, which has as its climax Phil's famous escape by jumping his horse over Napoleon:

Knowing my horse, I put him at the Emperor's head, and Bugaboo went at it like a shot. He was riding his famous white Arab, and turned quite pale as I came up and went over the horse and the Emperor, scarcely brushing the cockade which he wore.

"Cut him down!" said Siéyès, once an Abbé, but now a gigantic Cuirassier; and he made a pass at me with his sword. But he little knew an Irishman on

[&]quot;Bravo!" said Murat, bursting into enthusiasm at the leap.

The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe, ed. J. A. Harrison (New York, 1902), XI, 87 ff. (reprinted from Graham's Magazine, Mar., 1842).

² H. S. Krans, Irish Life in Irish Fiction (New York, 1903), p. 63. ³ R. H. Horne, A New Spirit of the Age (London, 1844), II, 152.

an Irish horse. Bugaboo cleared Siéyès, and fetched the monster a slap with his near hind hoof which sent him reeling from his saddle, — and away I went, with an army of a hundred and seventy-three thousand eight hundred men at my heels.¹

Lever foolishly resented this travesty, and for a time his friendship with Thackeray was interrupted. Partly, perhaps, because of *Phil Fogarty*, though largely no doubt because Lever was no longer young, he dropped the "Rollicker" mood in his novels. Unfortunately, however, his new, more serious style displeased his audience, and in the fifties, as we have seen, his fame and fortune reached their lowest ebb.

Gradually the public's liking for his early novels waned, too. By 1862 they were beginning to seem old-fashioned and their admirers

could be sentimentally reminiscent about them:

To us, indeed, there is something of pathos in the reperusal of these books. It is like reading one's old love-letters, or hearing an old friend recount the frolics of one's own youth. . . . We cannot but sigh as we ask ourselves, "Was life indeed, then, at any time, such an uncommonly pleasant holiday?" Has not the world itself grown older and colder since those jaunty days when the dazzling Mr. Lorrequer drove his four-in-hand through all the proprieties? ²

And in another decade they were entirely outmoded: "'Slapdash' is out of fashion," as a reviewer stated flatly. A few years later George Saintsbury not only berated Lever for his general sloppiness of style and narrative construction, but also objected specifically: "His pictures are not portraits, they are merely photographs embellished with the stock of appliances and garb of caricature." In the same year, an American reviewer explained very well this change of taste which had affected Lever's reputation: "Within the past twenty-five or thirty years English fiction has taken on itself an introspective hue, and the taste of readers of fiction is all for analysis of character

² Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, XCI, 452; this is one of the best of all articles on

Lever

³ Dublin Review, LXX, 380.

¹ Bret Harte included an amusing but rather obvious imitation of *Phil Fogarty*, called *Terence Denville*, in his *Condensed Novels* (1867), originally published in the *San Francisco Californian*.

⁴ Littell's Living Age, CXLIII, 112.

and motive, while the taste of the period immediately preceding was entirely for the display of character and motive in action." After this defense, however, he also voiced one of the most telling of all adverse judgments: "Lever, when he began to write, knew very little about life except that it was a very pleasant thing, and when he had really found out what it was he had ceased to be able to write novels."

Toward the end of the century, too, Lever's reputation as a depicter of Irish life ran afoul of a new generation of Irish nationalists and the Celtic revivalists, whose attitude toward him has been ably summarized:

Overrated in the early stages of his career, Lever paid the penalty of his too facile triumphs in his lifetime and his undoubted talents have latterly been depreciated on political as well as artistic grounds. His heroes were drawn with few exceptions from the landlord class or their faithful retainers. The gallant Irish officers, whose Homeric exploits he loved to celebrate, held commissions in the British army. Lever has never been popular with Nationalist politicians, though as a matter of fact no one ever exhibited the extravagance and recklessness of the landed gentry in more glaring colours. And he is anathema to the hierophants of the Neo-Celtic Renascence on account of his jocularity. There is nothing crepuscular about Lever; you might as well expect to find a fairy in a railway station.³

But, whatever have been the historic views about Lever, one question still remains: Why do not his novels find more readers today in England and America, if not in Ireland? We cherish other novelists who are weak in plot, whose characters are depicted by external action rather than internal analysis, and whose style will not bear too precise an examination — why not Lever? I believe the answer is a simple one: our attitude toward most of the human institutions which Lever loved to describe has completely changed. To us, now, war is horrible, love and drinking are serious, practical jokes are childish,

¹ The Nation (New York), XXIX, 368.

² E. A. Boyd, for example, in Ireland's Literary Renaissance (New York, 1916), p. 7,

refers as a matter of course to "the stage Irishism" of Charles Lever."

³ C. L. Graves, "The Lighter Side of Irish Life," The Quarterly Review, ÇCXIX, 26-27. For other capable defenses of Lever's Irish characters, see Every Saturday, III, 215; The Saturday Review (London), LXXIII, 180-81; The Academy, LI, 404-5; The Spectator, LXXX, 91-92; Krans, op. cit.; and the excellent recent article by J. M. Spaight, "Charles Lever Re-read," Blackwood's Magazine, CCXXVII, 679-93.

and dueling is French. The day when, like the pope, man led a happy life, is no more. Life's glad animal movements are all gone by, and now we hear, not, alas, the still, sad music of humanity, but only the melancholy, long withdrawing roar of the sea of faith — faith in the creed that it is bliss to be alive, and to be young is very heaven.

But all the more reason, then, for reading Lever, for "Nowadays, when half the novels read as if they had been written during the influenza, animal spirits are cheap at any price, and nowhere are they

to be had so easily as in a volume of Lever." 1

¹ The Academy, LI, 404 (Apr. 10, 1897).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

RALEGH'S "EVEN SUCH IS TIME"

SIR WALTER RALEGH was executed October 29, 1618. On November 3 the Rev. Thomas Lorkin wrote from London to Sir Thomas Puckering that Ralegh "the night before his execution made his own Epicedium, or funeral song, which I have here sent you." I Four days later John Chamberlain, in a communication to Sir Dudley Carleton, inclosed "a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to the king, before he came to Salisbury; and withal a half dozen verses he made the night before his death, to take his farewell of poetry, wherein he had been a piddler even from his youth." In neither case have the verses survived with the letter, but the little poem, "Even such is time," in a few months came to be generally regarded as the epitaph to which these eyewitnesses of Ralegh's execution refer, and was often so regarded in books and manuscripts by succeeding generations.3 None of the manuscript versions, however, can be precisely dated, and the earliest printed version known to Miss Latham, in her edition of The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh (1929), was that which appeared in Ralegh's Prerogative of Parliaments in England ten years after the execution of the author. Moreover, A. H. Bullen long ago cast some doubt on the authenticity of the tradition regarding the occasion of the poem, by publishing, from Harl. MS. 6917 (folio 48), "A Poem of Sir Walter Raleigh's," in which, as he noted, the sixth or last stanza, save for the first two words, duplicates six of the eight lines of the epitaph in its longer version.4 The interesting question of the relation of the "Poem" and the epitaph, thus raised by Bullen's discovery, was dealt with by Norman Ault in a letter to the Times Literary Supplement, for October 27, 1932 (p. 789). In a much earlier printed version than the Prerogative text of 1628, he discovers the "seeds of the romantic tradi-

² *Ibid.*, II, 104.

Thomas Birch, Court and Times of James the First (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 99.

³ For a list of manuscript and printed versions, see *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. Agnes M. C. Latham (London, 1929), pp. 165-67.

⁴ Speculum Amantis, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1889), p. 76.

tion" that was to transform the last stanza of the "Poem" into the "spurious" epitaph which has come down to us. This anonymous version he found in A Helpe to Memorie and Discourse (1621), "a little-known book of which the copy in the British Museum is apparently unique. It is, however, a 'Second Impression'; thus, as the book was registered in November, 1619, this version was almost certainly printed within eighteen months of Ralegh's death." The poem and its introduction, as printed by Ault, together with his comments upon them, are as follows:

"The Court hath made few happy, it hath undone many: and those that it hath most favored it hath undone, dealing with her favorites as Dalilah with Sampson, or as time with her minions, that still promiseth better and longer dayes, when in a moment she withdraweth the one, and performeth not the other, but falsifieth in both, as one lately to this purpose hath both experienced, and uttered as followeth:

Even such is time / that takes in trust Our youth, our joys / and all we have And pays us but with age / and dust, Within the dark / and silent grave, When we have wandred / all our ways, Shut[s] up the story / of our days."

The second stage of the transition seems to be actually mirrored in progress in MS. Rawl. Poet. 26 (f.2), where the rather unusual version of 1621, above quoted, has been exactly transcribed except for the change of "that" into "which" in the first line, and the misprint in the last; but where the introduction has given place to the title, "Sr Walter Raleigh's Epitaph on his owne death. Novemb: 1618," and the original stanza has been expanded by the addition of the pious couplet.—

And from which death, & grave, & dust, The Lord will rayse mee up I trust.

This transcription is dated by the Bodleian authorities "between 1620 and 1640, probably early rather than late." It presents one other feature which, being peculiar to itself so far as I am aware, may be noted for what it is worth. The additional couplet, contrary to the writer's practice elsewhere, is written in an Italianate script, so different in style and size from the rest of the poem and all in its neighbourhood as to look at first glance like another hand. But whatever the motive for the distinction in this manu-

script, with that addition to the original stanza the transition was completed, and the spurious "Epitaph" launched on its voyage down the centuries.

I have recently come upon an earlier printed version than that which Ault prints, and which calls for some other solution of the problem than the one he offers. It appears immediately after a poem, "On Sir W. R.," on the last leaf (L 3) of

A / Happy Husband / or, / Directions for a Maide to / choose her Mate. / As also, / a Wives Behaviour / towards her Husband after / Marriage. / By Patricke Hannay, Gent. / To which is adioyned the Good Wife; / together with an Exquisite discourse of Epi- / taphs, including the choysest thereof, / Ancient or Moderne. / By R B. Gent. / Exemplo iunctae tibi sint in amore Columbae, Masculus & totum foemina coniugium. Propert / Printed at London for Richard Redmer, and are to / be sold at his shop at the West end of Saint / Pauls Church, 1619.¹

Since this work was entered to John Beale on January 20, 1619,² it was probably printed within three or four months after the execution of Ralegh. The poem follows:

■ By Sir W. R. which he writ the night before his execution.

Euen such is time, which takes in trust Our youth, our ioyes, and all we haue, And payes vs but with age and dust, Within the darke and silent graue; When we haue wauered [sic] all our wayes, Shuts vp the storie of our daies, And from which Earth, and graue, and dust, The Lord will raise me vp I trust.

The assertion, often repeated in later versions, that the epitaph was composed on the night before the execution, is not a later growth, as Ault attempts to show, but is here explicit in the title of a version printed only a few months after the execution. Moreover, the final

² Stationers' Registers, ed. Arber, III, 640.

¹ The "adioyned" Good Wife is a reissue of Richard Brathwaite's The Good Wife: or, a rare one amongst women (1618), which had been entered for printing on May 30, 1618 (Stationers' Registers, ed. Edward Arber, III [London, 1876], 626). In reissuing it, the printer, John Beale, replaced sheets A 2-4 by corrected sheets C 6-8, and sheets L 1-3 by a new L 1-3. For assistance in establishing the relation of the two issues, I am indebted to Mr. C. K. Edmonds and Mr. Lyle Wright, of the Huntington Library.

"pious couplet," the appearance of which in the Rawlinson version he regards as marking the last stage in the transition from the "Poem" to the "spurious" epitaph, is also present. These facts necessitate the rejection of the argument that the epitaph was fashioned from the "Poem" under the influence of a romantic tradition. On the other hand, they contribute little, if anything, to our knowledge of the relation between the "Poem" and the epitaph. It may be well, however, to keep in mind Miss Latham's surmise that Ralegh possibly took over the lines from his love poem and, appropriately enough on the occasion, added the couplet expressing his hope of resurrection; for "it is characteristic of his sombre temper that even his love songs could at will supply an epitaph." ²

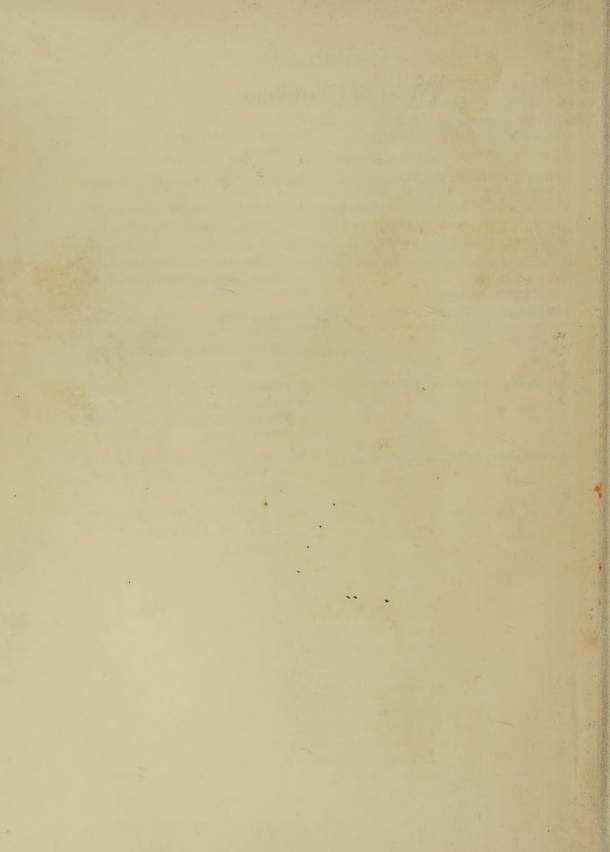
VIRGIL B. HELTZEL

It may or may not be significant that the three versions here discussed have one common reading which varies from all later versions as well as from the "Poem" — the reading of "Within" for "Who in" or "Which in" in line 4.

² Op. cit., p. 167.

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